MY 150 DAYS WITH THE UN—by Fleet Admiral Chester Nimitz

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United Nations
WORLD *Magazine*

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LETTERS to the Editor

The editors of this magazine are convinced that a new universal all-humanitarian philosophy is emerging from the present crisis. This greater concept of human behavior and of cooperation among all peoples is in the hearts and minds of men and women everywhere in the world. Constant participation and guidance of readers are indispensable to further the aims of world journalism to which United Nations World is pledged.

Democracy in Chile

The distinguished Ambassador of Chile to the US, Felix Nieto del Rio, has addressed a communication to the editors of UNW in connection with an item concerning Latin American developments (UNW, July 8, "Rockefeller Paged by Latinos").

For reasons of space we are unable to publish this letter in full, but we are very happy to reproduce herewith key excerpts.

"Chile will continue to be a bulwark of Latin American democracy, despite the efforts of extremist elements and of bad examples shown by sister Republics. Chi is not a country of one political party, n of political or military caudillos. The ba tles between the political parties that tak place in Chile are the best demonstratio of the strength of our democracy, expresse by majority and minority vote. The "bus ness leader" who communicates his u easiness to the United Nations Worl magazine may calmly await the 1952 ele tions and he will see Chile elect a ne President from two candidates, just as th United States did in 1948, with the a vantage that the Chilean election is b direct vote. Each election district elects t the Congress a number of Senators an Deputies corresponding to the number inhabitants in that election district.

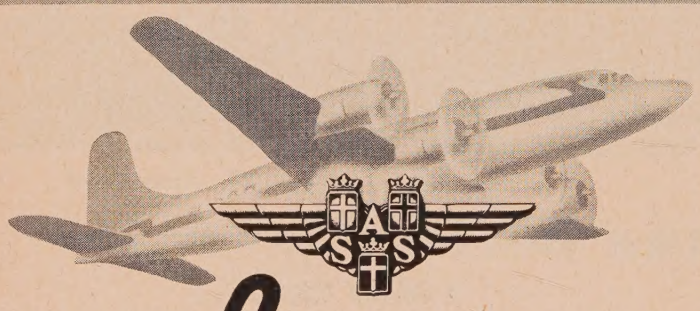
"The incumbent President of Chil Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, is one of th champions of democracy in America. Hi fight against the two totalitarianisms well appreciated throughout the world, a though he has provoked the antagonis of the forces he combats with the aid the entire country. In full development a the plans for economic progress conceive for the betterment of the 'standard of hap piness' of the people. Attempts agains public order, ordered from abroad, hav been smothered by action under law an by the democratic consistency of the Na tion, a consistency to which the Arme Forces contribute with unswerving loyalt

"Chile is a nation essentially and safel democratic. We are not the ones who sa so. It is an evaluation made by statesme and intellectuals who study and depict th evolution of ideas in the American Co tinent. According to them Chile shows natural sense of growth, of developmen stability and political maturity . . .

"Washington, D.C.

Felix Nieto del Río
Ambassador of Chile

UNW is glad to publish this correctio concerning the future of democracy Chile. It has long admired the campaig which President Gabriel Gonzalez Vide has led against all forms of totalitarianis in his country. Readers will remember i terviews with and articles by the Repr sentative of Chile to the UN, Ambassad Hernan Santa Cruz.—Ed.



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competition

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Have you considered the possibility of starting a "peoples" or "school" edition of UNW, aimed at the high school level? It could include a greater spread of material designed to stimulate an interest in other people, nations and cultures.

There are too many people lacking the background for an understanding of vital political issues on an international scale. Our schools must graduate potential world citizens. Our children should learn to be internationally minded from the cradle on up.

Mrs. John T. Carson, Jr.
Newtown, Pennsylvania

Friendship Pact

If I should make any suggestion to UNW, it would be this: Since this seems to be the "open season" for pacts, would it not be possible to form a "Friendship Pact" for the *peoples* of the world? Perhaps governments, ultimately, might follow.

Della F. Bonen
Delphi, Indiana

More UNW News

May I take this opportunity to commend you again on the service you are rendering international understanding through publishing UNW. The only point I might mention for a thoroughly satisfactory coverage is that more UN news be included. But you are already doing a wonderful job.

D. Jaclyn Fuller
Seattle, Washington

Trade Is the Key

This is just to let you know how much we have appreciated your treatment of world trade problems. There is no other publication, so far as I know, which emphasizes so persistently (and so wisely, if I may say so) that trade is the key to the solution of so many economic problems.

Richard R. Ford
Information Offices, ITO
Geneva, Switzerland

90-Year Reader!

I would like to accept your three year offer, but I am ninety years old, and don't expect to live three more years. While I do live, I want United Nations World.

Mrs. J. A. Silver
West Allis, Wisconsin

No Bias in UNW

We like your magazine very much. It seems to be unbiased and very well written. The articles are written by the best authorities on the subject which brings us very close to situations we would not otherwise understand.

Evahlia Saare
Oakland, California

60 Seconds for Prayer in the UN

In the August issue, UN World published the views of outstanding statesmen, writers and religious leaders on the proposal by Secretary General Trygve Lie that the first session of each General Assembly be opened with "one minute dedicated to silent prayer and meditation."

Since the article appeared the UN Special Committee on Methods and Procedures has approved the suggestion for sixty seconds of silent meditation. Meantime, a large number of letters presenting different points of view have been received by UN World. A representative selection is herewith reproduced.

Once again Trygve Lie shows himself the great understanding capable person he is. Nothing could be better than his proposals for silent prayer or meditation at the beginning of sessions of the General Assembly, and of a prayer and meditation room. This could be a thing upon which the whole world would unite. Too much bickering could make it a thing to divide us.

Mrs. Harry Oldroyd
Arkansas City, Kansas

All human beings for some reason that seems fundamental recognize a Power outside themselves to which they find it necessary to appeal. . . . Since this is true, or should be, among the so-called civilized nations whose representatives constitute the Assembly, why not so recognize it as a fact and in a prayer not mention the word "God" but instead refer to that influence that certainly guides us.

My prayer can be a very simple one. It might be somewhat as follows: "As we open this Assembly may our earnest plea to the Creator of us all be that we shall be guided rightly in the ways that lead to the happy and prosperous living of all peoples in their relationships to each other. May those elected to lead them come to understand that in the world for which we are striving there is no place for greed, cruelty, oppression or for any other actions that are unfair and unjust. Somehow, may we as members of this body, work out a program that in the days to come will truly be the Golden Rule in all human relations. For this, in all of our meditations, we pray."

Charles H. Sampson
Nobleboro, Maine.

I do not think the UN should start with prayer. There are so many various forms of religion represented that the idea of a room for silent thinking and rest is a much better idea.

Aurélie Asten
New York, N. Y.

I earnestly and heartily believe that a minute of meditation before each meeting of the UN and its constituent bodies would give a new opportunity for basic understanding—and peace.

Alice Waldo
New York, N. Y.

I would like to offer this prayer for the UN to be said by the presiding officer:

"To the Supreme Ruler of the Universe we wish that Thy will, not ours, be done . . . Amen."

Those in the audience may add their own "amen" to make it personal. The others may say bologna or some other like word in their own language.

Mrs. Lily D. Feickert
Summit, N. J.

I trust that the views of at least one American atheist will be presented.

The building of the New World requires man to have a sincere faith in his own potentialities as developed and fostered by the utilization of the tools of science and technology. Archaic institutions and concepts which have been instrumental in the enslavement and exploitation of the masses in order to regale a small minority in wealth, privilege and power must be abandoned. Prayer and meditation are two such concepts.

Since the UN has operated this long without recourse to use of metaphysical magic it would be well to continue without it. The organization is bogged down by enough out-moded ways as it is.

Earl James Coakley
Chicago, Illinois

A UN World Exclusive

On Tito's Blueprint for a Non-Soviet Communist Center

Belgrade's Plans For a New Cominform

Inside Story ▪ New Strategy of the West toward Russia Seeks to take Peace Initiative From Soviet Hands

Preview ▪ US—UK—Canadian Conference on Currency Crisis

MARSHAL JOSIP BROZ TITO of Yugoslavia is preparing a new political move which will shake and sunder the Soviet worlds to an even greater extent than did his famous break with the Cominform, made public on June 28, 1948.

The Yugoslav Marshal is going to launch a new Cominform—a world-wide organization of communists outside the USSR which will formidably compete with Moscow's own international apparatus.

The basic idea behind Tito's plan, on which Foreign Minister Edvard Kardelj and the brain-truster and theoretician Mosha Pijade are actively cooperating, is to fuse the aims and activities of all communists weary of Moscow's absolute domination.

This information, which is a carefully guarded secret in Belgrade, has come to United Nations World from an unimpeachable source. It is the same source which enabled this magazine to be the first to reveal, at the end of February 1948 (UNW, March 1948): (a) the rumblings of disaffection behind the iron curtain and the troubles Dimitrov and Tito were having with Moscow; and (b) the finality of the rift (UNW, August 1948) between Tito and the late Cominform boss Zhdanov—this at a time when most of the world's press and diplomats were still convinced that the feud was temporary, the result of personal rivalry between Stalin and Tito, or a deliberate smokescreen to confuse the West.

Tito's new trump card holds perils for his own regime and for the peace of the world. For when it is played, the already bitterly violent fight waged between Moscow and Belgrade will reach a new convulsive climax.

Up to now, Tito has been a threat to the sway exerted by Soviet Russia because he has openly and successfully defied Kremlin authority over its satellite states and Communist Parties throughout the world. With his new venture he will immeasurably intensify that threat, since he is out to win converts for his heresy among the faithful supporters of international communism.

The detailed plan being fashioned in Belgrade is based on theoretical assumptions which may result in a new communist manifesto—a declaration of independence from Moscow.

Economically, the dogma of the new dissident church will maintain the principle of State ownership of all means of production.

Politically, however, the Belgrade doctrine differs sharply from Soviet practice. The control of the State by a single party, namely the Communist Party, will be modified in favor of the idea of a *fatherland*

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Many delegates to the United Nations feel that their efforts on behalf of this great international organization fail to receive the newspaper space their labors merit. Speeches that climax weeks and often months of careful thought and preparation frequently are "covered" very briefly in the press of the delegate's own country and with only a few lines, if any, in the great bulk of American newspapers.

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Our second suggestion includes the preparation of a single page newspaper or "clip-sheet". This method would permit "coverage" of several subjects in each issue with photographs and illustrations.

Editors may reset articles which interest them, and mats of cuts and news items are supplied to newspapers requesting them.

If you are interested in obtaining additional information regarding our suggestions, please write or telephone us and a qualified representative will arrange for an appointment at your convenience. You are under no obligation should you request this service.

ALBERT L. RAMSAY, MANAGER

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The World *continued*

front, or *national front.* This is comprise a great number of orga izations such as trade unions, c operatives, farm, women and you groups, which—together with t Communist Party—would run a pa ticular country.

At the core of the Belgrade a proach is the federalist idea. Pow is to be far less centralized than Russia, except in matters of nation security and foreign policy.

No Soviet-Like Regimentation

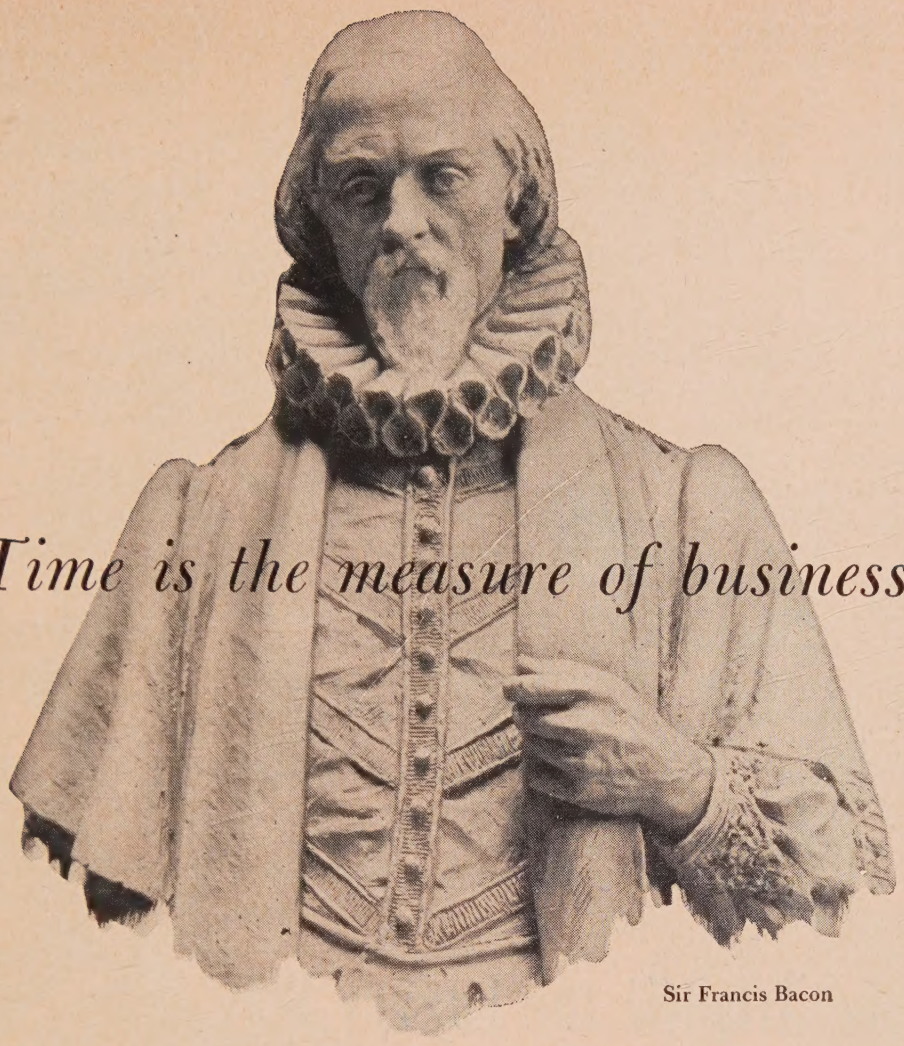
Hence, the most startling featu of the proposed Cominform is th any participating country will ha the right to adapt its internal stru ture to its own national traditions ar aspirations, and its own econom requirements. This latter provisio Tito and his associates feel, will esp cially attract many leading comm nists in every satellite country. F if it joins the new Cominform, can organize and conduct its intern affairs as it likes without having conform constantly to the needs a dictates of the Soviet Government.

In structure, as in function, t new Cominform will also differ fro the Russian variety. Members of t central committee who are to repr sent independent communist parti will be equal in authority. The Se retary General will have no such s preme dictatorial powers as in t old Comintern or the present Comi form. The Yugoslavs believe that th will appeal to many communists w long have deeply resented ar trary all-potent control from t top.

Tito's strategy for developing th new Cominform is divided into thr parts:

1. To prepare the theoretical a organizational groundwork of t new Cominform—this is being do right now.

2. To announce the new Com form's constitution when the politi timing is right, i.e., when the A trian peace treaty is ratified, and t



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State of the World *continued*

West and the USSR concede to Italy its Trieste demands. The Belgrade pronouncement will be justified in the eyes of the Yugoslav people by the charge that the Soviet Union has completely betrayed Yugoslav national interests and abandoned Yugoslav minorities. This pronouncement will also disclose that 20 to 25 key communists who today are leaders of Soviet satellite states have thrown in with the new Cominform. Some of them are already in Yugoslavia, and others will be secretly conveyed to Belgrade from their own capitals by the Yugoslav Government.

3. To start open action in Bulgaria and Albania when political, military and psychological conditions are ripe.

Starting Point: The Balkans

For some time, at least, the new Cominform will be limited to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, with their total population of 23 million. Tito is still as strongly attached to the idea of a Balkan Federation as he was at the end of 1947 and early in 1948, when he and the late Bulgarian Premier George Dimitrov were openly promoting such an alliance—provoking *Pravda* (on January 28, 1948) to repudiate sharply the very idea.

Tito is fully aware that his Bulgarian and Albanian confrères—some of whom still hold high office in their own countries, while concealing their real sentiments—will not be able to act effectively until the international situation has eased to such an exent that their deparure from the Soviet orbit would not precipitate an occupation of their homelands by Soviet troops.

The significance of this new Cominform can hardly be overestimated. It will give a new "socialist fathe land" to any communist who revo against the authority of Moscow. I will no longer be an abandoned, hel less emigré, but will have a spiritu home and be a part of a new int national political movement and m chinery.

Even more importantly, this n Cominform, contesting Soviet s premacy as fountainhead of wor communism, may provoke armed i tervention in Yugoslavia on the pa of the USSR to scotch the heresy its source. This could ignite fires a World War III.

New Strategy Towards Russia

A CHANGE of pace in forei policy for dealing with t USSR is being swiftly devised by t Western powers. The aim is to wr the "peace offensive" initiative fr Russia and place it firmly in We ern hands. This development confir on the diplomatic front a basic versal in Europe's overall milita situation.

Western Europe was disarmed, f all practical purposes, until the A lantic Pact was ratified. Leaders a people knew that in the event of R sian aggression, they could ultima ly count on US intervention. But th were uncertain about what their i mediate fate would be—i.e., wheth they would be occupied, and for h long, and the extent of devastati their lands would undergo. The a sence of clear-cut commitments the US to send large-scale milita aid at once, and to help Weste Europe build up its defenses, e couraged the most bellicose factio in the Politburo. But the Atlan Pact has changed military logic a logistics for West and East alike.

In contrast to the previous beli that it would be virtually impossib to hold the whole of Western Euro against a Russian advance, it is t day expected that it can definitely held at least from the western trib tary of the Rhine to the Chann

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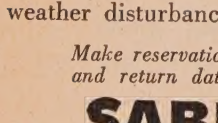

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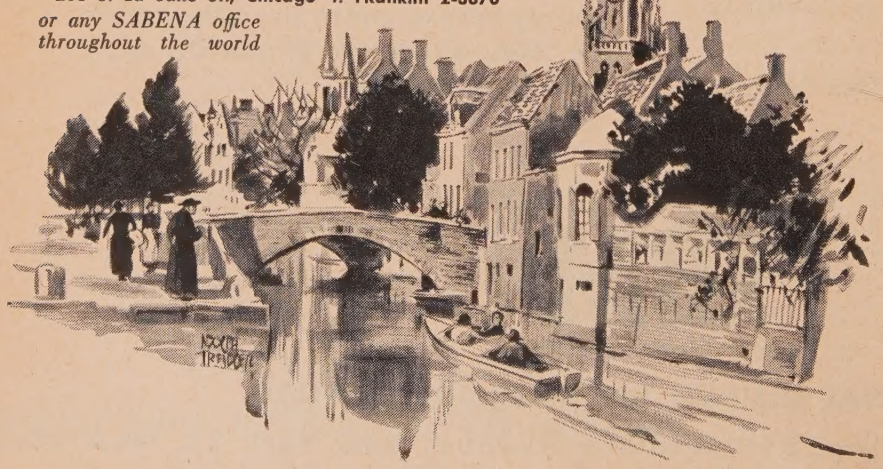

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State of the World *continued*

This shift in the arena for action reflects the transformation taking place in western European and American strategic views.

Western Europe's chiefs of staff are relinquishing previous calculations of removing armies and navies to North Africa and England, in favor of a holding operation on their own ground until American and British reinforcements arrive in strength.

Britain's role is also decisively changed in this reorientation. She is no longer the first defense line which, together with North Africa, would serve as springboard for forces to liberate Europe. Her own military establishment is being dovetailed into the effective defense of Western Europe before an eventual aggressor can overrun it.

North Africa, likewise, loses its primary role. For the defense of Western Europe will be henceforth organized within Western Europe itself. Unless an opposing army should choose the almost impossible route —conquest of the Middle East and thence North Africa—the latter no longer has pivotal importance.

American military thinking is also drastically altered by this new battle array. The US could not now count on two or three years of effective preparation of carefully trained invasion forces. Help will have to be instantaneous, and be given in the heart of Western Europe itself.

The Role of US, UK and French Forces

Cooperation among the various defense establishments of the Atlantic Pact nations would be global in scope, with all energies and resources thrown in equally and simultaneou ly. However, the main burden of d fense and offense would be divide among the various countries, duri the first stages, as follows:

France's land forces would pla the chief role in the event of an i vasion from the East, and woul serve as integrating center for t land armies of all the other Atlant Pact allies.

Britain's navy would immediatel go into action to gain maximum a vantage from the incontestable mar time superiority of the West.

America's air force, including j planes and bombers carrying atomi weapons, would be hurled again vital industrial Soviet targets an against the strongest arm of the Ru sian military—its air force.

Atlantic Pact chancelleries, notabl in France and Norway, argue tha after all the Pact's underlying pu pose is not to wage a successful wa but to prevent any war whatsoeve However feasible the military outloo may become, Western European pow ers realize that in any circumstanc war would be a cataclysmic disaste Once the Atlantic Pact defense ma chinery is fully in operation, the say, the time will be ripe to mak every effort to improve relations wit Russia, without yielding a single ter ritorial concession. They conten further that, under the new stra tegic set-up, trade with Russia wil no longer constitute a danger o strengthening the Russian war potei tial since the USSR would not dar to attack such powerful adversarie as the Atlantic Pact Allies.

Hence, plans to improve relation with the USSR are being formulate by Western European diplomat They call for new overtures to Rus sia to settle existing differences an to increase appreciably East-We trade.

The fight against Communist Pa ties within Western European coun tries will continue unabated. In fac central to the new grand strateg will be ever-stronger drives to iso late Communist Parties in the politi cal arena and ruthless elimination o communists from leading position

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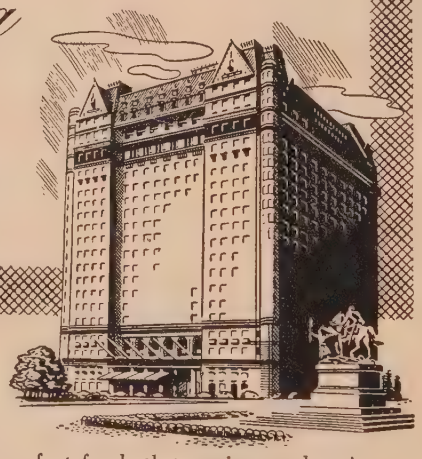

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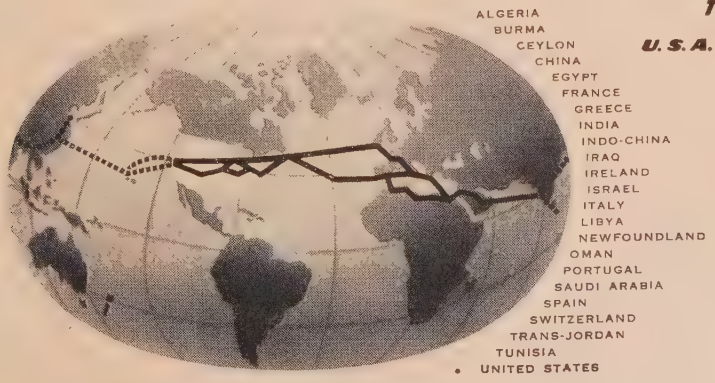

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State of the World *continued*

German Nationalism Disturbs Europe

EUROPEAN diplomats, especially the French, are very much disturbed over the rising tide of nationalism in Western Germany—a tide which engulfed the recent German elections, when all parties invoked nationalistic slogans, sidestepped the crimes committed by Nazi Germany during World War II, and encouraged—for all practical purposes—the resurgence of the idea that Germany is inhabited by a superior race.

The three Western occupying powers are dealing with Western Germany in a mood of haphazard improvisation. In theory, the aim is to bring about a democratic Germany. In practice, the result is that nationalistic and authoritarian tendencies are exploited to quicken economic recovery.

A noted expert on the German situation has informed the editors of UNW that Allied policy in Germany is marked by three major defects.

The Americans seem to want to imitate General MacArthur and his administration in Japan. They forget that conditions are entirely different in Germany, that the spirit of nationalism is infinitely more deeply rooted in the German mind than the jingoism of the shoguns in the mind of the average Japanese.

The British are forgetting all about nationalism, because of their fanatic belief in nationalization.

The French are not yet awake to the fact that the three historic invasions of France during the last 80 years are not the main preoccupation of the other Western powers in coping with Germany. Rather, their outlook is shaped by the over-all picture vis-a-vis Russia. However, Quai d'Orsay reactions to the nationalistic tone has been so strong that French High Commissioner in Germany Francois-Poncet was authorized to issue a blunt warning to the Germans against their attitude of "I too hate Russia, and therefore should be absolved of all past crimes."

In British Labor circles, stringent criticism of the German policy is gaining momentum. More and more Britons are insisting that until Germany proves that it is committed to genuinely democratic ways of behavior it should not be permitted to become a full-fledged member of the international civilized community.

As far as America's Mr. McCloy is concerned, there is still an attitude of "wait and see," since his policy has not yet been crystallized.

British View of Dollar Conference

THE visit this month (September) of Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Ernest Bevin to the United States has all the earmarks of the most critical Anglo-American negotiations since the end of the war.

Nominally, the purpose of the talks is the search for a solution of the crisis in the relationship between the sterling and dollar areas.

Britain, in her capacity as banker for the sterling bloc, is expected to give her considered stand on the issues already raised in London between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, Mr. John Snyder, in the light of the discussions last July between the Commonwealth Finance Ministers.

But that is only part of the purpose of the Washington talks, as the presence of Mr. Bevin clearly indicates. Resolving the dollar-sterling dilemma is only one aspect of the far wider post-war problem of whether it is possible for the Soviet sphere of influence and the Western democratic powers to exist side by side.

Mr. Dean Acheson, the U.S. Secretary of State, giving evidence before the Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington on July 28th, last, lucidly analyzed the real nature of this question. Perhaps because it was made on the same day as President Truman's announcement of Anglo-Canadia American atomic talks, this remar able speech received nothing like t publicity it merited, at any rate in t British Press. His immediate obje was to justify the Administratio military assistance program to cou tries which are endeavoring safeguard their way of life agai the direct and indirect dangers the system represented by Mosco and the Cominform. But, in trying persuade his congressional listene that their countrymen's dollars wou be well invested in aiding these cou tries, he argued that defense, ec nomic recovery, and financial stabi ity were simply different aspects of single problem.

The challenge facing the Weste Powers, he explained, was to co solidate their military and econom strength to a stage where, even at i weakest point, it offered no tempt tion to communism to expand at the expense. To this end, the Unite States had taken a series of measure culminating in the North Atlanti Treaty.

The real danger to the Weste Powers, Mr. Acheson pointed out, la in a mutual loss of confidence b tween the United States and her par ners which would hinder their pro gress toward common foreign polic aims.

If the countries of Western Europ lose confidence in America's will t see through to the end the polic upon which she has embarked, ther will be a corresponding weakenin in their own confidence in their pow ers of recovery and self-defense.

Conversely, if the United State concludes that the nations of West ern Europe are incapable or unwill ing to help themselves economicall or militarily, she will be tempted t reconsider whether it is worth he while to continue the costly proces of subsidizing them to preserve common policy.

This is the vicious circle whic threatens the Western system in it struggle for existence, and offers th Soviet system opportunities to aggra vate its internal stresses and strains

The dollar-sterling crisis, with it momentous repercussions on the con

fidence of the Western Powers in themselves and in one another, represents the most immediately vulnerable part of this circle. Some good judges regard it as an even more vital problem to solve than that of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. They point out that while it is possible for the general public to grasp the basic issues of the east-west ideological struggle, it is difficult to the point of impossibility for leaders in western countries to explain the causes and the cure of the sterling crisis.

In Europe itself it is generally recognized that all the progress of the past eighteen months will quickly be dissipated if the dollar-sterling crisis is allowed to shake the foundations upon which Anglo-American unity has been built to meet the communist threat.

Even if Mr. Acheson and Mr. Bevin succeed in persuading their financial experts that it is more important to safeguard the continuity of foreign policy than to stand fast on their respective views on budgets and balances, the American and British governments will both find it hard to explain to their respective publics whatever concessions are needed for a compromise.

In the past, Moscow has invariably obliged, at moments when unity between the Western Powers has been in danger of faltering, with some action which has brought about a sudden realization that preservation of a united front in the struggle with world communism must be given first priority.

Whether, by its increasingly strident prophesies of the collapse of Western capitalism, Moscow can this time perform the miracle of shocking the Western Powers into finding a workable solution to the dollar-sterling crisis, admittedly appears unlikely at the time of writing.

On the other hand, it still has to be proved that the post-war crisis, so long eagerly awaited by Moscow, will be of the kind that Soviet economists anticipate, and that its consequences will necessarily be those which they have so insistently predicted.

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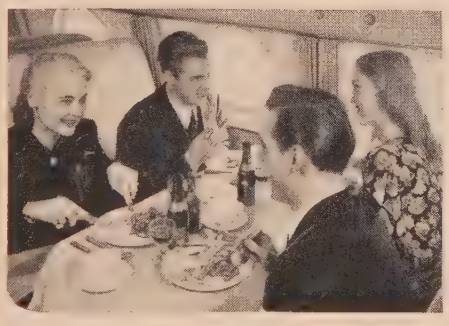

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United Nations WORLD *Magazine*

My 150 Days with the UN

By CHESTER W. NIMITZ

Fleet Admiral, USN,
UN Plebiscite Administrator Designate for Jammu and Kashmir

AFTER forty-eight years in the U. S. Navy, I became an international civil servant, some 150 days ago, on March 28, 1949.

When United Nations Secretary-General Trygve Lie asked me to act as administrator of a plebiscite to determine whether the peoples of the State of Jammu and Kashmir desire to join India or Pakistan, I accepted with pleasure. I felt that this was a challenging assignment.

Two steps have to be taken before the plebiscite can be organized: (1) the "cease-fire" which became effective in the disputed area on January 1, 1949, and (2) an agreement by India and Pakistan for a truce in Kashmir. The truce agreement, still to be negotiated, is a prerequisite to further negotiations concerning details of the plebiscite.

I hope to see this important truce agreement signed at the earliest possible time. I will then be able to leave, with a first contingent of 25 principal officers and secretaries, to join the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and discuss with the two governments all details of the plebiscite. Once the truce has been settled, I expect to be formally appointed as administrator of the plebiscite by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. I will move to the Vale of Kashmir to direct preparations for the plebiscite on the spot. Provided there is an early truce agreement, it can possibly be held late in the summer of 1950 or spring of 1951, and will be one of the most important the UN has supervised.

To register the voters and to get and count their votes will not be easy in a country like Kashmir. The Vale of Kashmir, which will be our headquarters, is 5,000 feet above sea level, set among the highest mountains in the world. Winter storms of great severity will impede our work.

The success of the plebiscite will depend not only upon the cooperation and support of the Governments of India and Pakistan, but also upon willingness to cooperate on the part of the Government and people of Jammu and Kashmir. From what I have heard and learned, I have the conviction that we will have their whole-hearted support. However, to gather the ballots in this difficult and rugged country, with inadequate communications, will be quite a job. We will also have to cope with the resettlement of refugees, for we want all bona fide residents who fled the country during the fighting to have a chance to return to their homeland and participate in the plebiscite in which some two million people will probably vote.

But these difficulties are nothing when compared with the importance of bringing about a peaceful solution in a conflict which nearly in-

volved some 400 million people in cruel fighting. In this case, as in many others, the UN is rendering an invaluable service to mankind.

Thinking over my five months of service in the UN, I can say that it has been one of the great experiences of my life. I am more convinced now than ever that the UN is the main source of hope if we are going to have a peaceful world.

When I first took office, I expected to leave on my mission within a few weeks, but delays on the part of India and Pakistan to agree to a truce have delayed my departure. I, therefore, have had the unique opportunity to see at first hand the day-by-day operations of the UN, from the full-dress meetings of the Security Council and the General Assembly to the less dramatic but decisive tasks performed by the lesser committees and the Secretariat.

What has impressed me particularly is the atmosphere of earnestness and sincerity which surrounds the debates. I have sat and listened to arguments in the Security Council. I have often heard violent discords between member governments. Despite the vitriolic character of some of the language, despite the excessive lengths of some of the speeches, the mutual recriminations and unnecessary rhetoric, I have found it much more satisfying to see these representatives of the world's governments clash with each other across the council table than to know that their armed forces were shooting at each other across land, sea and in the air. I prefer to see the diplomats settle disputes by discussion and negotiations rather than have these disputes degenerate into war.

Aboard the USS Missouri. Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz signs for the US during Japan surrender ceremony.

Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, soon after he took office at Lake Success with Abdur Rahim Khan, Representative of Pakistan, left, and Sir Benegal Narsing Rau of India, center.

During these months my belief has grown that the more you know about the UN, the more confident you are of its worth and its ultimate success and destination. Too often, ignorance and intolerance account for the attitude of those who, too hastily and in neglect of historic perspective, condemn the organization as a failure. Too often, well-meaning people who know little or care nothing about the extremely involved and delicate process of diplomatic negotiations, on an international scale, grow impatient with the UN. But this, I submit, is due mainly to the fact that they simply don't know enough about it.

We all realize that the UN is beset by a vast variety of obstacles and handicaps. It is naive to assume that the UN could have resolved all of them in a matter of months, especially when these problems are often the cumulative result of long years of mistrust and nationalistic suspicions and rivalries, together with the absence of international law and an international tribunal as guide and forum for the deliberations of the nations of the earth.

It should be kept in mind that an undertaking of UN's scope requires an infinite amount of patience, of skill and tolerance in reconciling divergent views, of building its own *modus operandi* in fields both small and large, before the UN's final goal—that of collective security against any aggressor—can be achieved.

Recently some well-intentioned persons have attacked the integrity of the UN Secretariat. Naturally, within the Secretariat, as in any other human institution, it has to be expected that there might be isolated instances of people who—in violation of their oath of allegiance to the UN—may serve illicit purposes or engage in subversive or criminal activities. But it is erroneous and unjust to attack the UN Secretariat in general because of the possibility that in a few exceptional cases members of the Secretariat may have abused the high privilege of their international office for selfish ends.

My experience in the UN has taught me, above all, that there is no conflict, but rather consonance, between the highest form of national patriotism and service within the UN. The whole philosophy of the UN is based upon the assumption that only the patriotic citizen of a national community can best serve the international community. The underlying purpose of the UN is not to use this great organization to benefit a particular nation, but rather to use it to advance the legitimate interests and aspirations of all nations.

So far as I am concerned, I will feel it to be one of the greatest accomplishments of my own career if this mission is carried out successfully, for then I will have helped to bring about peace by means of ballots instead of bullets. I recognize however that the best solution will be that which is directly and freely negotiated between the states.

The GHQ of the anti-communist cold war shifted in midsummer from Washington to Rome. Even while the US Senate discussed the Atlantic Pact and the re-arming of Western Europe, Pope Pius XII's decree of excommunication for all militant communists caught and held the attention of the world. Diplomats, lawmakers, even military men realized that here was finally joined one of the most decisive ideological battles for man's soul.

Recognizing the momentous implications of the papal proscription, UN WORLD sent to Rome editor Tibor Koeves, who long has been an analyst of Vatican history and policy. His assignment: to discover what moved the Vatican to take open issue with the Kremlin, and what hope the leaders of the Catholic Church have for checkmating the Cominform conspiracy against it.

Inside Report On the New Crusade

How the Vatican plans to foil the Cominform plot to wreck the Catholic Church

By TIBOR KOEVES

THE year 1950 is slated for the showdown in the war between world catholicism and world communism. Ever since July 13, when the Holy Office of the Vatican warned Catholics that they would be barred from grace if they gave militant support to communism, the clash between the Vicar of Christ and J. V. Stalin has daily grown in intensity. As evidence of the high stakes and the vast preparations for this struggle, I have in my possession a secret document which is the battle order for the communist push against the church. The information in this dispatch has been obtained from Vatican sources which are confident of their ability to thwart the enemy offensive on which they are minutely informed.

Certainly the Vatican is not without its own counter-strategy and tactics and techniques for meeting those devised by the Communists.

In 1950 the Roman Catholic Church will celebrate a holy year during which the faithful of all the world will be invited to make pilgrimages to Rome, there to reaffirm their loyalty to the universal, the catholic Christian faith whose basic tenet is the brotherhood of man under the fathership of God.

In 1950 Communists all over the world will be advised to block holy year pilgrimages to Rome. The methods they have been instructed to use include:

- The manufacture of a war scare next spring and summer.
- Rumors of epidemics in Italy.
- Rumors of currency scandals in Italy.
- Rumors of shortages and hardships to be faced by pilgrims.
- Disruption of railway and hotel services. (Communists are still quite strong in Italian labor unions, and strikes will be fomented in many

POPE PIUS XII URGES CATHOLICS TO DEFEND FAITH AND MORALITY

cities through which the pilgrims must travel.)

- Vigorous propaganda against participation in the Holy Year observance. (Such a campaign is already under way in Latin America.)
- Mobilization of all Communist-controlled press and radio for "psychological warfare" against the Holy Year.
- The closing of borders to prevent all Balts, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Romanians and Bulgarians from taking part in the Holy Pilgrimage.

The Kremlin and, in turn, the Cominform and the national Communist parties recognize two major enemies. Pitted against them in the material field is American free enterprise; in the spiritual field, Roman Catholicism.

Communism recognizes both threats as formidable. It is committed to waging a constant attack on the US, probing for its soft spots. The Politburo, according to diplomatic sources here, still expects a sizeable depression in the United States this year with as many as six million unemployed by December. A cut in US taxes is anticipated, with a consequent decrease in ERP funds. As American support for Western Europe weakens, they hope to see communism grow stronger among the hungry and jobless of Europe.

While waiting for the US to confound herself, communism directs unceasing blows against its other powerful opponent. The following is a digest of what Vatican circles accept as an authentic blueprint of Soviet grand strategy:

1. Demonstrate to the people and the clergy that the state is stronger than the church by humiliating a presumably untouchable high dignitary. (Notable examples are the treatment of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary and Archbishop Beran in Czechoslovakia.)

2. Make it appear that the state's opponent is the individual church dignitary, not the religion itself. Once he is discredited and ousted, replace him with a pliant individual.

3. Encourage the establishment of a national church, dependent on the state—at odds with Rome if possible. (In Czechoslovakia some 2000 priests are reported to have accepted the authority of the state-dominated schismatic church.)

4. Carry through on the principle of divide and conquer. First separate the national church from Rome, then weaken it by every means, lest the universalism of Rome re-assert itself.

A further directive, implicit in the foregoing and in Communist tactics, carries the divide-and-conquer principle into the smallest villages. There the Communist cell sets itself up as the vigorous opponent of the parish priest, seeking to turn his parishioners away from him and against each other.

The Communists know their previous postwar drives were stopped in Italy, France and South America by priests. Their retaliation against priests runs the gamut from Priapus to paradox. In Italy, for example, the Communists accuse priests of immorality. They agitate in the name of "true Catholicism" against the intervention of American Catholicism portrayed as the tool of conservatism.

Vatican strategy relies neither on armies, nor police and prisons, nor factories, nor work camps. It is based

The New Crusade *continued*

on the fact that its realm is the minds and souls of men who are brothers and sons of God. The Pope admits the spiritual authority of no temporal ruler. He has led the fight on Stalin and will continue to lead it because (a) he regards the case for Vatican neutrality lost and (b) the church cannot afford to have its life-or-death battle won for it by Protestant America—or even by socialist Western Europe.

The case for neutrality was strong. Until recently, Stalin and his adherents ruled more Catholics than any other governments or empires. Even though the Vatican recognized the Communist regimes as its enemies, it could not close its doors against their peoples. Moreover, it had concordats with Poland and Romania and a *modus vivendi* with Czechoslovakia which permitted Catholicism to function satisfactorily.

Nevertheless, Pope Pius XII has left no doubt in any mind about his attitude toward "anti-Christian" communism. He opposed "deals" with the Soviet government and sought the unity of Christian sects—under Roman Catholic leadership.

He has the advantage at all times of a far-flung intelligence service. Every priest and missionary in every nation reports to the Vatican Secretariat of State. To realize how all-encompassing is this network of close to half-a-million priests, one must study the huge maps of the world painted on the Secretariat's walls. Silver stars mark the seats of Roman Nunciatures and red stars the Apostolic Delegations. The Vatican has been chary of putting its members into the difficult position of having to choose between economic security and salvation. Even now, its final weapon of excommunication will be used with circumspection. Catholic members of communist labor unions have been specifically assured that the Church understands their quandary and will not punish them for membership based on economic motives.

The Communists, who realize that their appeal is strongest to the hungry and the harassed, have undertaken with every device of propaganda to turn members and friends against the Catholic church.

To the underprivileged, they allege:

- That the Vatican consistently sides with reaction.
- That the antisocial attitude of the church is responsible for the crisis in Europe.
- That the Vatican has opposed the Yalta Agreement and the United Nations because it opposes all collaboration with the East.
- That Pope Pius XII secretly works against reforms and labor's welfare for a consolidation of the "capitalistic bourgeoisie" in all countries.
- That the Vatican provoked the conflict with communism as basic to its postwar campaign to reconstruct an ultra-conservative Europe.
- That the Pope fired the opening gun in his Christmas, 1946, message, calling on the world to line up "either for Christ or against Christ."
- That Vatican policy, in fact, was the first wedge driven into the wartime (and projected peacetime) "unanimity principle" of the great powers.

Catholic propaganda, though less noisily broadcast, has the advantage of being more personalized, more in accord with established opinion; it has the air of authority, of sanctity, of precedent, of centuries of acceptance.

Moreover, it has at the village or parish level, in its priests, men who are commonly of superior mentality though often drawn from the impoverished classes.

The church will exercise its weapon of excommunication primarily against the elite guard communists, the organizers and leaders.

Catholic propaganda also has the advantage of friendly promotion by organs over which the Vatican itself has no control. In its cold war with the Kremlin it has—as was established in the US on the occasion of the Mindszenty conviction—the earnest support of Protestant agencies—even those which ordinarily are at sword's point with Catholicism.

The men in and around the Vatic attribute communism's war agai the church to three men: Susl Malinkov and Stalin. These th have swung their fellows in the P litburo into an all-out propagan and "legal" war on Roman Catho cism, even at the risk of setting off shooting war.

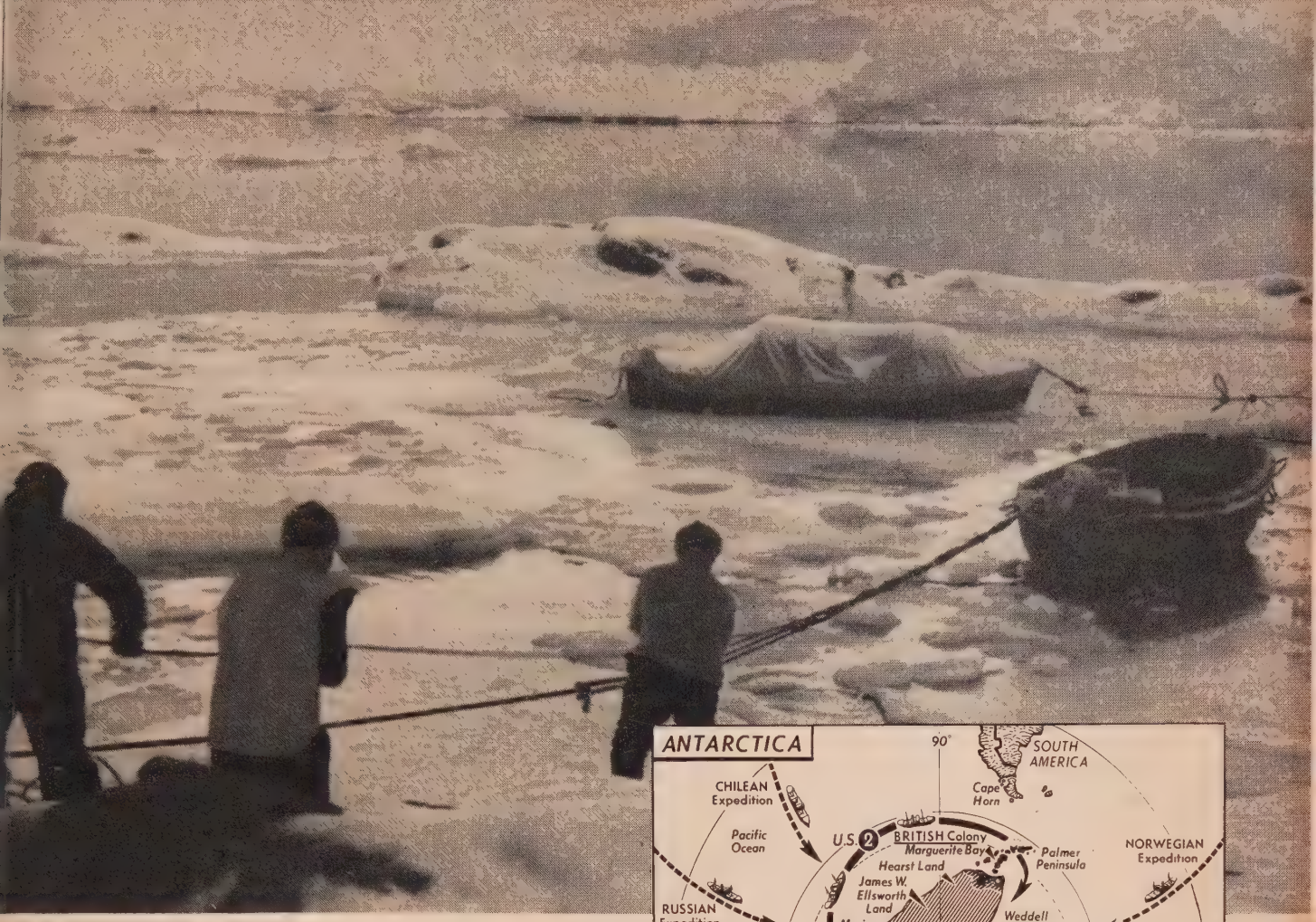
The Vatican legions are inspir and led by Pope Pius XII, patrici politician and diplomat extraor nary. His lieutenants are among t world's shrewdest and most realist of men. High among them is t American, Msgr. Joseph P. Hurle Internuncio at Belgrade, who is touch with Marshal Tito.

In 1925, when the last holy ye was celebrated, two and a half mi lion persons made the Rome pilgri age. If fewer than that number ta par next year, the Cominform wi claim—and no doubt deserve—cred for a great victory. If, as was orig nally anticipated, 4 million part pate, the Vatican will have demo strated its supremacy. Whatever t outcome, the issue is now joine The Church has girded its loin Neutrality is dead. The razor edg of excommunicatio will cleave awa the weaklings.

The Church, its leaders insist, not afraid. With no national interes at stake, it is in the best position o any power in the world to brin "Communist outrages" to universa attention. Certainly no other powe can equal its intelligence sources o its sympathetic propaganda outlet

If the Church wins the Battle of th Holy Year, it will be its first majo victory in this all-out struggle. A much smaller—but most significan —victory may, however, be achieve within six months. From Belgrad comes assurance that Monsigno Hurley may soon win releas of Car dinal Stepinac from his Yugosla prison.

But—and this dramatizes the co relation between temporal and spirit ual factors in the world-wi conflic —Cardinal Stepinac is likel to be se free only if Communist Dictator Tit first receives a much-needed Ameri can loan.



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ANTARCTICA

BY EDWARD SHACKLETON, M.P.

AMONG the world's many trouble spots is one area which is often overlooked: the great Antarctic Continent. It is an area which now possesses comparatively little military or economic significance, yet it already shows signs of becoming yet another bone of contention between nations. It is not a question of established "spheres of interest" over inhabited territories, nor is it a scene of conflicting ideologies, for it is the world's greatest uninhabited and least known area. But even now, claims and counter claims are being made by no less than seven nations, with others on the sidelines ever watchful of their own interests.

Antarctica is an uninhabited and harsh region where mankind can maintain life only with the complicated aids of modern civilization. In the past it has been a *territorium nullius*—a no-man's land visited only by explorers and scientists bent on achieving glory for themselves and their country by adding to the store of the world's knowledge.

Recently an International Conference has been called, on the initiative of the United States, to try to sort out the conflicting claims to the Antarctic. But this conference—sig-

A SURVEY PARTY HALTS AT WALL MOUNTAIN, PORT LOCKROY.

Antarctica *continued*

nificantly enough in the light of modern custom — is not taking place under the auspices of the United Nations. It is being left to direct negotiation between the governments concerned. And yet there is no problem in the world which the United Nations is better suited to handle.

How in fact are claims established in the Antarctic? There exist a number of precedents and customs within the experience of international law which serve at least as pointers in the complex problem of the sovereignty of this great deserted continent.

First it is necessary perhaps to consider the nature of the land. The Antarctic Continent is like no other place in the world—not even the Arctic. Whereas the North Pole is in the middle of an ocean 10,000 feet deep, covered with a surface of constantly moving pack ice, the South Pole is situated on a plateau 10,000 feet high. There is no land in the Arctic Ocean (so far discovered or likely to be discovered) within 360 miles of the North Pole, and the rate of drift of the pack ice is such that no claim could be made to that. The land that does exist is mainly adjacent to large territories whose sovereignty is clearly established. Thus the whole of the vast islands of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago are separated only by comparatively narrow straits from the mainland of Canada, and it is in this area particularly that a principle known as the "Sector Principle" has been evolved. This principle is like the old "Hinterland theory," under which a nation possessing settlements on the coast of the continent could claim sovereignty at least over some part of the land behind. In the Arctic the method broadly works on the principle that all lands lying to the northward between a particular country and the North Pole are claimed by that country.

An interesting case arose over the Norwegian claims to East Greenland. Here the Sector Principle is not easily applied, but a fundamental

rule was established in the judgment given by the Hague Court in rejecting Norwegian claims in the following words:

"A claim to sovereignty, based not upon some particular title such as a treaty of cession, but merely upon continued display of authority, involves two elements which must be shown to exist: the intention and will to act as sovereign, and some actual exercise or display of such authority."

THUS the principle of first discovery or indeed of the formal taking possession of a particular land is seen to be of small significance in comparison to the principle of effective occupation: "usucapion," as it is called. Now how can this be considered in relation to the uninhabited lands of the Antarctic?

This immense territory 5,000,000 square miles in extent, is surrounded by stormy seas and pack ice which often makes approach difficult. It is a land above all of negativity. There are no trees or flowers or natural inhabitants, and until the wife of Lars Christenson flew up in an aeroplane to have a look at it from her husband's factory ship, it had never been seen by a woman. In parts, particularly Adelie Land, almost continuous blizzards blow, though calmer conditions are met in other places. In one particular sector, the huge Ross Ice Barrier, whose precise nature has only recently been established, provides a mysterious area of ice partly resting on land and partly on sea. This raises a special problem, since it is doubtful whether sea ice, even if permanently attached to land, can be regarded as part of that land, though there is one classic case in Alaska where an American was prosecuted for maintaining an illegal gambling establishment on the ice outside the three-mile limit!

None the less, claims have been made which at least have some significance for the predominant land mass of the Antarctic. There are four main sectors. Of these Britain (from the Falkland Isles) and Australia and New Zealand have made formal claims, while Norway has sought to establish her sovereignty over the remaining quarter. If discovery alone was sufficient, British claims are undoubtedly the strongest. The Antarctic Continent was first discovered by British explorers, and nearly half the Antarctic expeditions have been British. But it is clear that discovery is not enough.

More recently—and this is the basis of the main dispute, Chile and Argentina—who hitherto have taken no interest and have never sent an expedition to the Antarctic, have put forward claims overlapping the Falkland Islands Dependencies, especially in the region of Graham Land.

It is in this area that the greatest activity has been shown. Not only is it the most accessible, but also it is not without strategic significance. Except for a short interval during the early part of the war, the British have maintained continuous establishments and shore bases for the survey work they are carrying out in the region. They have established a post office (a most convenient indication of administration) and have largely paid for the costs of their expeditions out of the payments for stamps issued through that post office for the benefit of philatelists throughout the world.

The post office indeed is an old device. My father, many years ago, was appointed, on one of his expeditions, postmaster general of the Antarctic and used to help pass the time during the winter night by stamping each stamp with the post office mark —incidentally, thus reducing the value of those stamps for collectors, from a pound to five shillings!

On the other hand, one of the South American nations has set up a church on one of the islands in the Graham Land sector, complete with priest. Police powers, too, are a convenient method of proving effective occupation. Although it is not clear whether any police station has been set up yet in the Antarctic, certainly in the Canadian Arctic, Canada used some of her Royal Canadian Mounted Police in order to strengthen her sovereignty. A notable example of this was in Ellesmere Island, an area in which I spent many months on an expedition, and which lies hundreds of miles inside the Arctic Circle. Ellesmere Island was a land which at one time enjoyed the unique distinction of being the only country inhabited entirely by policemen.

The United States has preserved an enigmatic attitude on the subject of Antarctic claims. It has never recognized any other country's claims. The vast expeditions which have operated in that area, particularly those under Admiral Byrd, have never taken possession of any territory, though occasionally some flags belonging to a number of different nations were dropped on unexplored territory. But it is the United States which has taken the initiative in calling the present conference.

What then should be done about the Antarctic? The fact that most of the land is buried deep under the icecap and that today it is of little economic value does not mean that, in the future, it may not be of the greatest importance.

THE advantages of internationalizing the whole of Antarctica with the possible exception of Graham Land (on which the British feel they have established claims by effective occupation) are obvious. There is a real need to set up for the benefit of all the nations in the Southern Hemisphere meteorological stations on the Antarctic Continent which would be of immense value for long-range weather forecasting. The Antarctic should not be regarded as just one more problem but as a great opportunity for effective international cooperation.

It has been argued that the trusteeship proposals of the United Nations relate primarily to the protection of native peoples and that the only people in the Antarctic Continent are penguins! This is an academic quibble. The Antarctic should be administered internationally, and the United Nations should be the body to do it. It is sad that fear of drawing Russia into this area should have led America and Britain to call a conference outside the auspices of the United Nations. But ultimately the Antarctic should become United Nations territory—the first and, therefore, the most hopeful sign of progress to the World State.

Eyewitness Report

FROM ROME

Busy and boisterous,

poor and prolific,

and a city of invincible charm

By T. B. STONEY

DESPITE all the furor about half the world traveling to Italy this summer, I can confidently report that Rome is full of Romans. Their number is nearing the 2 million mark, the highest in history. Since Rome is a relatively small place, this enormous postwar increase in population, together with the presence of an average of 300,000 tourists and foreign residents, account for the impression that today this is Europe's busiest, noisiest and most active city.

The vitality of Rome is singularly impressive. From early morning, the squares, the avenues, and the narrow medieval streets which lack sidewalks, all are thronged. So too are the streetcars and busses. The sidewalk cafés and restaurants are busy day and night.

There is a sense of purposefulness in the very air of Rome. The people, generally speaking, look one in the eye with the ease and confidence that spring from the inner knowledge of having overcome the more acute ills of a

THE PIAZZA VITTORIO IN ROME IS CROWDED WITH BUYERS AND SELLERS DURING THE BUSINESS HOURS.

tragic war faster and more courageously than any other nation.

In the course of the centuries, Rome has been repeatedly invaded, occupied and pillaged, and then rebuilt once again and plied with gifts by other nations. Thus an ingrained historic wisdom tells the real Roman that invasion and devastation are acts of God which occur from time to time, only to pass away like a hail storm, in due time. The disaster then can be repaired by faith, hard work, and resourcefulness.

Unfortunately, however, while the collective reconstruction has performed miracles, especially in such fields as railroads and roads, bridges, ports, harbors, the living standards of millions, both in the cities and in the country, are still on a distressingly low level.

Even in the so-called prosperous years before the war, the vast masses of people had to work exceedingly hard and show great ingenuity to make ends meet. Today the observer is simply baffled by the question of how large segments of the population keep body and soul together.

Prices in Rome are often as high as in New York, yet most salaries are one-third or one-fourth as large. A pound of beef costs 80 to 90 cents, a pound of lamb 70 cents, a pound of chicken $1. A dozen grade A eggs ("drinking eggs" Romans call them) sell for 60 cents, a medium priced man's shirt for $4, a package of cheap, bad cigarettes for 35 cents. On the other hand, a primary school teacher is paid $55 a month; a high school teacher or bank employee, $75; a good newspaperman, $100. In the country, the wage of the hired hands who work 140 days a year, is between $1.10 and $1.25 a day, and the women are paid less.

When, in view of these circumstances, I asked an old Roman friend, a lawyer, how he and his like are able not only to survive but also to raise lovely families and enjoy life, he grinned and said in typical Roman fashion: "*Si guadagna, si combina, ci si arrangia.*" Which could be translated: "One earns a little bit, then one contrives, and takes advantage of situations." In other words, the average man manages to stretch a small income by his wits. In fact, one gains the impression that half of the city's male population is engaged in improvised, difficult, but picayune business ventures. Often in small deals half a dozen people are involved, idea men, agents, go-betweens, advisers, contacts, each of them desperately hanging on for a share of the proceeds.

In this atmosphere, business becomes tortuous. Promises are made and then evaded, dates forgotten, appointments not kept. In offices, cafés, under the arcades, on street corners, arguments and negotiations go on endlessly with that mixture of forcefulness, excitement and basic politeness which is characteristic of the Roman street merchant and speculator. The other afternoon I was stopped by a young man in the middle of the Piazza Colonna. "Want to change dollars?" he asked. "I give you the highest price." I inquired where his office was and he showed surprise. "Here, in the square," he answered. "You can find me here every day from 9 in the morning to 10 at night."

A grave source of economic trouble in Rome is the lack of capital. I witnessed the negotiation of a loan of 10 million lire, approximately $17,000 by a small private bank which charges 25 per cent yearly interest. This wasn't considered even slightly excessive. Borrowers sometimes must pay 50, 75, and even 100 per cent.

White collar people, salaried employees, workers and others who have no chance to make deals try to beat difficulties by a hundred expedients. Many have two or three jobs. Families live together and share their incomes. They seldom eat meat, but thrive on *pasta*, vegetables and fruit, which are relatively cheap and absolutely delicious. They don't go to theaters but derive greatest pleasure out of staying home and loving their children. Girls make their own dresses, and the majority of men wear neither ties nor jackets; nevertheless they look neat and pleasant.

For men of the higher income groups good grooming is important. They look smart and they know it. Without any doubt, the world's most beautiful shirts are made in Rome. The price ranges from $7 to $18. In general the Italian male vanity seems to have survived both war and Fascism. In an important business deal, an acquaintance of mine needed the intervention of an influential person. At first the great man evaded

ROME too has its supermarkets, often very picturesque; here customers bargain for the old U.S. Army shoes and the baskets that are hung up for sidewalk display.

Rome *continued*

his emissaries. My friend finally went himself to see the man and said: "Look Luigi, you alone can arrange this transaction. You are the most beautiful man in Rome, no one will be able to resist you." That clinched it. The deal was closed 24 hours later.

Tourism is, of course, most important to Rome. This year the season is the best since the war. Day after day arrive waves of Swiss, French, Dutch, English and, of course, Americans. The latter are generally very well liked. As a rule they show themselves generous, interested, polite, and are on their best behavior. Authorities, like the *concierges* of the Hotel Excelsior and the Hotel Ambasciatori, with whom I had conversations on the subject, declare that today's American tourist is quite different from his pre-war predecessor. "They used to be noisy and even undignified, if you permit me to say so," one of my consultants remarked. "Today they are matured and seem to realize their responsibility to the world individually."

American power is admired and American largesse asknowledged, often with sincere gratitude. The incidents and unfortunate episodes of the first months of the occupation are largely forgotten, and most Italians prefer to remember how the Rockefeller Institute wiped out malaria in Sardinia, how the Army's DDT detachments freed the city of bedbugs and, mainly, how the Marshall Plan has transfused new life into Italy's economy. Communist attacks against American aid make no great headway with the practical minded Italians; although it is untrue that Togliatti's party is losing much ground. It is generally believed that if elections were held today, Communist losses would hardly amount to 1 or 2 per cent.

America's standing in Italy contrasts strangely with the general and surprisingly deep popular resentment toward England. The reasons for this violent anti-British feeling are complex, being political, social and psychological. England is accused of being anti-European and of retarding the reconstruction of the Continent by pressing her own special, imperial interests. Moreover, Italian and British export interests clash all over the world, notably in the important textile and automobile fields. The controversy over the former Italian colonies is another major cause for anti-British feeling.

The Romans also have more subtle grievances. I was told how upon the Anglo-American occupation the big palaces of the aristocracy immediately opened their doors and how the British officers ran to the brilliant receptions, while the Americans preferred the company of the bourgeoisie and the people. The English soldiers, it is said, behaved in a superior and distant manner. The GIs, although they committed more excesses, are remembered as basically good and kind fellows who occasionally wanted too much for too little or even for nothing, and couldn't take their drinks very well, but whose hearts could be touched by simple things and who loved and understood children.

For the man and woman of the people that last point is of basic importance. Among the poorer classes of Rome, the consolation, the compensation, the joy, the sense of life is the love of the children, and the closely knit family ties. No one can take such elementary pleasure in simple things as the Roman. Besides his joy in the *bambini*, a conversation with friends, a plate of well-prepared spaghetti, a glass of wine, an exchange of jokes with a woman, make his eyes sparkle and his laughter is that of a happy and carefree man. One cannot escape the thought that this oldest race in the West, the *populus romanus* is a biological miracle. Centuries pass, famine, plague, war take their toll over and over again, but the Roman shows no sign of decadence. He conserves his old virtues—he works hard, keeps up his interest in the world, remains healthily skeptical.

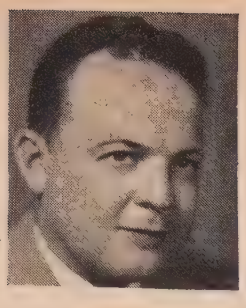
Of course, it helps that Rome is such a beautiful place. The subtle, imponderable influence of beauty on human life is greater and more important than the inhabitants of arrogant new cities believe.

The beauty of Rome may be less spectacular than those who have never been here are inclined to anticipate, but it's on a very human scale.

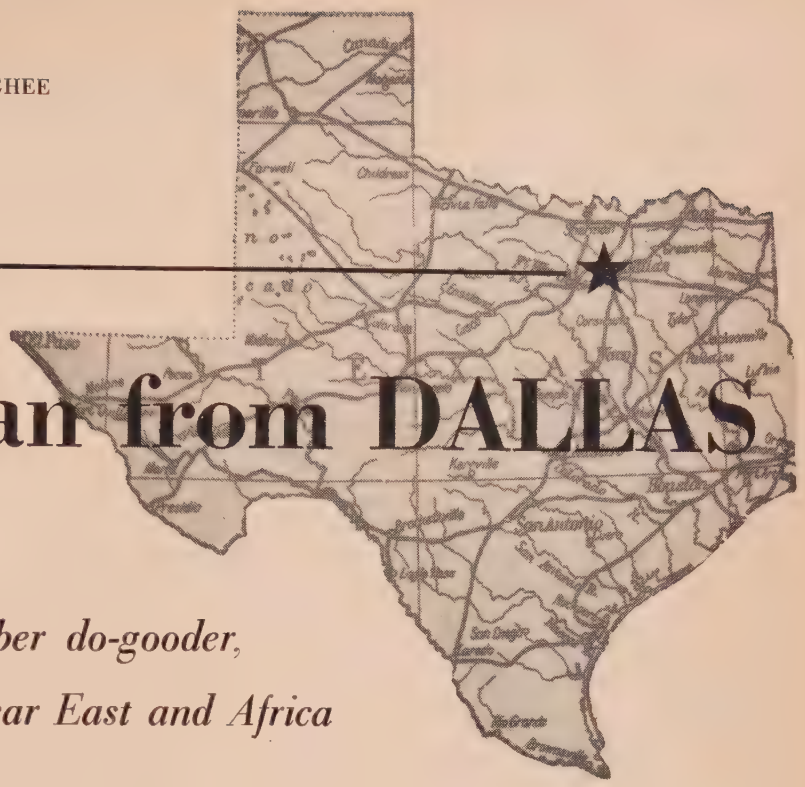
There's a little square, for instance, the *Piazza S. Ignazio*, which was built in the late XVIIIth century almost as if for a setting for a play of the period. One end of the narrow oblong piazza is closed by the Church of S. Ignazio. Opposite stands a yellow building with a wavy roccoco facade: that's the backdrop. Immediately to the right and the left of it, and diverging at 45° angles, two other houses in the same style jut forward, forming the sides of the stage, which is the square itself. The three houses are so designed that they give an utterly pictorial effect, as if they were not really built in stone but painted on a huge canvas.

In one corner of this square stand the tables of a small sidewalk *pizzeria* where the food is exceptionally good and the service is princely. There are also three musicians, a violinist, a mandolinist and a guitarist, who go from table to table and play old neapolitan songs ever so softly. For some quaint accoustical reason when the music stops the quiet is unbelievable. One sips slowly the light wine of Orvieto and looks up to contemplate the profundity of the dark blue Roman sky illuminated by stars. In the perfect silence, under the shadow of the strange old houses, for a minute suddenly life seems to change its focus. Nothing exists — no faraway countries, dangers, worries, problems— only this self-contained curious island created by an artist, a dreamer.

There are many such squares in Rome, the majority much older and less contrived. But all of them possess that unexplainably permanent quality, that admixture of vulnerability and freshness, those unalterably human proportions which give the city its magnificently unique character. One understands that mankind couldn't help calling this place Rome, the Eternal.



GEORGE McGHEE



Young Man from DALLAS

Oil-rich, self-made, sober do-gooder, he is Mr. US to the Near East and Africa

By ALFRED A. STRELSIN

BACK in 1947, the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Dallas, Texas, voted bronzed, hefty, gregarious George Crews McGhee the city's "outstanding young man." Junior chamberlains of commerce are not ordinarily blessed with second sight. In this case, however, they had really picked a winner. In less than two years the local newspapers broke out the headline—Local Boy Makes Good.

McGhee had three strikes against him when his name was considered for the job of Assistant Secretary of Near Eastern and African Affairs in the US State Department. He was impertinently young — just thirty-seven. He was outrageously rich, and —his money was made in oil.

Predictions were that this last handicap alone would be sufficient to rule him out. Middle Eastern policy of the Great Powers is frequently said to be influenced by oil. Opposition from many quarters was expected. Outsiders wondered whether the choice of McGhee as US diplomatic representative for the oil-soaked controversial area was a fortunate one. But when his nomination was up before the Senate, no voice was raised against him. The young Navy veteran from Texas was unanimously confirmed last June.

There's a story behind the story of McGhee. It has a routine beginning with a poor college boy's dream of acquiring the Big Dough. As the setting is Texas, his thoughts turn to geology and geophysics, tools of the oil prospector. He carries off honors in these at two southern universities, then tries for a Rhodes scholarship—and fails. Going to work for an oil company, he falls in love with the boss' beautiful daughter. While romance simmers, he bags the Rhodes prize on a second attempt, and is off to Queen's College, Oxford, for an expert scientific polishing of his divining rod. On his return he ought to be able to locate the coveted geyser of black gold.

If the plot had no other twist than these it would be good only for the pulps. And smiling George McGhee wouldn't be sitting behind one of the biggest desks in the new State Department building in Washington, heading up a vast diplomatic network whereby America maintains its relationships with more than a quarter of the people of the globe.

The real thickening of the plot comes at Oxford. There the raw young Texan who dreams only of petroleum receives a decided mental jolt. Those around him don't care much for his sort of philosophy. Money is not to be classified as a sin—but there are other things to live for. His tutor and dean at Queen's College is Oliver Franks, later to be knighted and appointed British Ambassador at Washington. Through Franks, through others, young McGhee rubs shoulders with the ancient British public service ideal. A man has a duty to his fellows as well as to himself.

MATHEMATICIAN McGhee multiplies his dream by two. First, to find the black sticky geyser that will set him

free. He must do that quickly. Then he can turn his back on self-centered money-grubbing, direct the full force of his powerful drive toward some big unselfish goal. He isn't quite sure what it should be. Perhaps he should go into the education field, seek to inspire other young men with his brand new vision of building a better world. Perhaps he should try out politics, the real battleground for some of the new ideas about social advance.

Only movie heroes are supposed to manage all the things that they dream about. But George Crews McGhee did it with a speed and brilliance that make Clark Gable look a little like a stand-in. While still at Oxford he married the beautiful Texas girl, with the brown hair and hazel eyes. Her name was Cecilia Jeanne DeGolyer, and her father is rated the outstanding geophysicist in the world.

Returning to America with his bride, who liked his new turn of mind, McGhee worked for Continental Oil in Texas for a time. Soon, though, with the assistance of his father-in-law, he organized a small prospecting group, turned his back on Texas, and went nosing around Louisiana for some spot where pay-oil might be expected to gush up obligingly out of the earth's crust.

Louisiana was kind to him. For a long time now he has been only a silent partner in the oil interests he initiated there—but the flow of dividends continues with such unabated force that he is a youthful Croesus. This causes some American friends of Israel to shudder that he should sit down in the enlarged and expanded State Department swivel chair once occupied by Loy Henderson. "An oil man—he's sure to be partial to the Arabs!" they somewhat acridly observe.

To his critics, McGhee turns his good-natured smile. "I've no emotional interest either in Arabs or Jews," he says. "My purpose is to serve my country in the best way. It happens to be here—it could have been in a dozen other spots I'd have liked just as well. Oil? My interest in it is technical and not political. I'm an oil explorer. I'd be glad if I could help with the scientific problems of oil in the Near East. That's all!"

Even his critics are becoming inclined to give credence to this statement of the new Assistant Secretary's point of view. As for his friends, they are loud in their insistence that George McGhee has no ideological slants to right or left, that he is big on doing and getting things done—but beetle-brained on connivance. They think he takes his self-chosen goal of service with dead seriousness and that he knows how both to accept and to exert leadership in important matters. His own statement to a Congressional committee perhaps sums up his attitude toward his job: "I don't make the policies, but I see that they get made!"

The Assistant Secretaryship is not Mr. McGhee's first government assignment. In wartime his technical education was put to important use, first in WPB, then in the Combined Raw Materials Board. But the young man decided to join up as a seaman and get closer to the shooting. Four months at boot camp, then his IBM card in Navy's Bureau of Personnel turned up his extensive mathematics and physics. The Navy rushed him to Colorado, where its liaison unit to the Army's Twenty-first Bomber Command was forming. He soon found himself a Lieutenant j.g. headed for the Marianas.

The Twenty-first Bomber Command, under General Curtis M. LeMay, was to initiate stratospheric assaults on Japan with the new B-29. On Guam, McGhee served as liaison officer between the headquarters of Admiral Nimitz and General LeMay, and also helped to work out air-sea rescue operations.

During that period in the Pacific he says he did a good deal of hard thinking about his future, renewed his determination to make it mean something on the side of increased happiness and opportunity for others as well as for himself.

In Dallas, Texas, sometime after his return, a Community Guidance Service was set up, with operating costs of $12.000 a year, "borne largely by one sponsor," its report says. In its first two years the Service interviewed almost 3,000 students, and granted $25,000 in college student loans. McGhee wanted to be certain that young men and women of his home town had a chance to pursue their goals.

McGhee himself was off to Washington for a stretch of service in the State Department under Will Clayton, following which, perhaps on Clayton's recommendation, the young Texan found himself with an important State Department assignment of his own. He was made Co-ordinator for Aid to Greece and Turkey. It was a job requiring all of his technical background, for, as he himself pointed out, "it has become increasingly necessary for the Department of State to co-ordinate the technical aspects of the problems that constitute the grist of foreign relations with the other aspects of these problems."

In February 1947 the British Ambassador at Washington advised the President that the United Kingdom could no longer provide economic, financial and advisory assistance to Greece. The President moved rapidly in the national interest, asking Congress to appropriate $400,000,000 in military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey, to enable them to resist internal and external pressures by the Communist states. Leadership in formulating policies for Greek-Turkish aid and for drafting legislation was assumed by the State Department at the President's request.

The subsequent administration of the program involved the interplay of efforts of many agencies of government, including the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, the Public Roads Administration of the Federal Works Agency, the US Army, Navy and Air Force. These had responsibility for specific aspects of Greek recovery: agriculture rehabilitation, road repair and transportation, public health work and many other such matters, in addition to broad financial and military assistance. And the work of the government experts had to be further co-ordinated with that of hundreds of

Young Man from Dallas *continued*

private organizations interested in the welfare of the Greeks.

His experience with this program has convinced McGhee that while the world situation continues to involve our country in foreign policies with a variety of important aspects, the State Department must develop co-ordinating techniques, and draw into its ranks outstanding citizens from business, professional and academic life, whose experience can reinforce that of the group who constitute the Foreign Service.

In his new role as Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and African Affairs, McGhee is responsible for co-ordinating relationships of our government with an area of the world embracing 14,450,000 square miles. The population of that area is 625,245,000—more than four times that of the United States. Its peoples speak 145 languages, adhere to six major religions.

Answerable to McGhee are 53 foreign service stations, of which 14 are embassies, 6 legations, 14 consulates general and 14 consulates. The magnitude and responsibility of the post have of course been greatly expanded since Loy Henderson held the chair as mere "director" of Near Eastern and African Affairs.

McGHEE's large pine-paneled office in Washington provides an impressive setting, not without certain landmarks reminiscent of Loy Henderson's occupancy. From the broad space between the windows beside the Assistant Secretary's desk, His Highness Mushir Mohan Essedek, Bey of Tunis, gazes down on the visitor, as he has since 1865, when his likeness was presented to America with "condolence on the assassination of President Lincoln and felicitation on the termination of the Civil War."

Forming a cozy group with couch and armchairs is a Tunisian coffee table with inlaid mosaic top and elegant brass appointments. On shelves along the room's rear wall, richly bound books alternate with groups of Arabic curly-toed slippers. Splashed menacingly on the floor is a gigantic tiger shot by a doughty Maharajah on the plains of Nepal. The great beast was presented to Joseph Satterthwaite, Loy Henderson's successor. Satterthwaite gave it to Henderson, who, when he was appointed Ambassador to India, decided to leave the tiger in its new State Department habitat.

In this "world traveler's drawing room," it is not the tiger but George Crews McGhee himself who is the most surprising element. The dynamism of the husky Texan has immediate impact. The visitor falls to wondering about the strange mixture of practicality and idealism that has brought him to this high post, and how he will prove himself. With his enormous personal fortune, constantly increasing, he might—just conceivably—have become an international playboy. Instead, with his wife and four children, he lives quietly in an old red-brick Williamsburg house on a piece of land in Virginia called "Farmer's Delight," where for pastime he's raising a herd of Black Angus cows.

FROM the strict success angle McGhee could well be regarded as a sort of "double Horatio Alger." But there is a lot more to it than that. The real challenges lie ahead — as they do for America itself. The final estimate of the man can only be taken when he has demonstrated how well he can manage the vast segment of American foreign relations that has been tossed in front of him.

If he proves himself on this assignment, he will be something more than Dallas' "outstanding young man." His oil, his wealth, his youth are against him. *For* him is just one thing. It is his own definition of the State Department's duty to provide "a tool which the President can use effectively . . . to safeguard the vital foreign interests of our country and to assure that we persevere in our efforts to achieve world peace and security."

ALL PATRIOTS, but Mr. McGhee (at left) is the only one from Texas, too. The other three are State Department co-workers, Adrian Fisher (glasses), Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Edward G. Miller.

They Don't Do it Our Way

How World Cooperation May be Balked by Cross-Cultural Misunderstanding

By INA TELBERG

UNESCO Feature Service

Paris, August 23, 1949

It was in November, 1946, that I was flown to Lake Success from the Nurenberg trials. I was tired, sleepy, and a stranger to the United Nations. On November 15th Vishinsky was delivering his now-famous veto speech in the Political Committee at Lake Success. A regular interpreter failed, and I was rushed to the microphone in the middle of the speech. I remember how my voice trembled when I first began to speak. I knew that I was on the air and that many of my friends in America and England were listening. In a few minutes, however, I lost every trace of self-consciousness as Mr. Vishinsky's Russian carried me away by its sheer beauty, force and richness of expression. Latin quotations, Russian proverbs, even Shakespearian poetry, were utilized for the purposes of his attack on the British and the American positions.

Next day I was startled by the press reaction. I myself received some fan mail; a couple of letters that denounced me as a Communist for having interpreted the speech with such fervor, another that praised me for the same reason. I realized then how unnecessarily vitriolic, aggressive, and offensive the address was when translated. In fact, how ill-adapted was the Russian oratorical style to delivery in a foreign tongue. It was not the language itself, however, that was the obstacle. It was the tradition behind the language: what I have since learned to call *speech etiquette.*

The Russians are disliked both for the length of their speeches and for the irony and sarcasm of the content. Yet the utilization of irony in political speeches is a long-standing tradition of public oratory in Russia. It has nothing to do with the Soviet Government. Mr. Vishinsky, for example, was born, trained, and had had considerable success as trial lawyer and political orator, long before the establishment of the Soviet Government.

The Latins, far from employing sarcasm, prefer to sprinkle their speeches with a liberal amount of poetic imagery, metaphysical expressions, and literary allusions. They are usually accused of unnecessary length and of equally unnecessary flights of poetic fancy. I once heard this particular difference in speech etiquette brought succinctly to the attention of the Assembly, at the meeting of the Social Committee in Paris. The Cuban delegate, tired of the Chairman's constant interruptions of the speeches of his Latin-American colleagues, protested:

"Not being all Nordics and Anglo-Saxons, we cannot fit into the pattern of brevity, terseness, and conciseness which you demand of us, Mr. Chairman. Such patterns befit the Northerners, but we like an orator to be imaginative, emotional, moving. From our point of view we are not deviating from the substance of the matter, as it is our way of dealing with the matter."

It was a Latin-American delegate who, during the General Assembly meetings in Paris, pleaded for the inclusion of the phrase, "From the cradle to the grave," in the Article of the Declaration of Human Rights dealing with social security. He wanted to insure that a worker, or rather a citizen should be covered by measures of social protection in just that manner; the words were his way of saying precisely what he meant.

"Such phrases have no place in

a serious document," pronounced a Western European delegate.

"But the Declaration should be beautifully worded," argued another Latin representative.

"It's a legal document — not a poem," muttered a Benelux member.

A member of the United States Delegation whispered darkly into a neighbor's ear, "Why not 'from womb to tomb'? At least it rhymes!"

Before the final text of the Article was settled upon, several other poetical versions were suggested. Some, quite unprintable, shortly made the rounds of the corridors outside the conference room.

But if the English-language delegates find the Latins over-ornate, and the Russians objectionably sarcastic, their own style of oratory is likewise open to criticism. English-language speeches fall flat on both the Slav and the Latin ear. English understatements—and almost all English-language speeches are understatements from the Slav and the Latin points of view—need to be interpreted with particular skill into Spanish and Russian if they are to be convincing. Rendered into Russian, they particularly lack emphasis, although there are some notable exceptions. It is, for instance, impossible for any of Sir Carl Berendsen's remarks to lack emphasis. It is equally impossible for Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India to be either misunderstood or unappreciated when she speaks in English and is simultaneously interpreted into Spanish, French, Russian and Chinese. These combinations in the same speaker, however, of Latin fire, Russian irony, and the Anglo-Saxon precision are rare exceptions to the rule.

There is also that strange matter of a sense of humor.

I remember one occasion when a United States delegate made what to him was a jovial remark at a meeting of the Population Commission of the United Nations.

"What the distinguished Lady Representative has just suggested," he said, "proves that women can be more than decorative—they can also be useful."

He looked at his Soviet colleague and awaited a smile of response. None came. The Russian sat stiff and unsmiling. In Russia there are none of the jokes, so beloved by the Americans, about women drivers or women delegates. Most of the humor involving the opposite sex is crude, off-color humor, usually insulting to the woman concerned. And here, in addition, was an overt allegation that women were somewhat inferior. The Russian conception of courtesy, therefore, forbade the Soviet delegate to do anything but freeze into a silent disapproval. The well-meaning American attempt to find a common ground by means of a joke had thus increased, rather than lessened, the psychological distance between the two delegations.

These instances of differences in speech etiquette and sense of humor illustrate some aspects of the problem of *cross-cultural understanding*, which is today preoccupying social scientists, and which affects every individual's day-by-day life. What the social scientists mean by *culture* is not the arts of a nation, in the sense of painting, sculpture or literature, but the totality of the patterns of thinking and acting transmitted through generations from father to son, and absorbed, with deviations and in varying degree, by all participants in the life of the nation.

One of the most deeply rooted, and largely unconscious, features of any culture is what psychologists call the *time perspective*. Within the United Nations, at least three different time perspectives operate.

"Gentlemen, it is time for lunch, we must adjourn," announces the Anglo-Saxon Chairman, in the unabashed belief that having three meals a day at regular hours is the proper way for mankind to exist.

"But why? We haven't finished what we are doing," replies —— in a puzzled manner that grows rapidly more impatient — an Eastern European delegate in whose country people eat when the inclination strikes them and every family follows its own individual time-table.

"Why indeed?" placidly inquires the Far Eastern representative, hailing from a land where life and time are conceived as a continuous stream, with no man being indispensable, with no life-process needing to be interrupted for any human being. In his country members of electoral bodies walk in and out of the room quietly, getting a bite to eat when necessary, talking to a friend when pleasant. Meetings, theatre performances, and other arranged affairs last without interruption for hours on end, while individuals come and go, are replaced by others, meditate or participate as the occasion requires, without undue strain, stress, or nervous tension.

Thus the various groups persist in their own conceptions of the time perspective. The Anglo-Saxons demand that the duration of meetings

UNW cartoon by Derso and Kelen

ONE MAN'S FISH IS ANOTHER MAN'S *POISSON*.

They Don't Do it Our Way *continued*

and conferences be fixed in advance and that meals be taken regularly at set hours. The Russians sit irritated and the Latins puzzled (for to the Latins a beautiful oration is not something to be cut short because it is lunch time). The Secretariat is frantic. While mutual friction grows, murmurs of "unreasonableness" are heard around the room. When the issue under discussion is an important one, overt accusations are hurled across the room of "insincerity," "lack of a serious approach to the problem," and even "sabotage."

HOSPITALITY presents another aspect of the problem of cross-cultural understanding.

When a social anthropologist enters a new area his first project usually consists of familiarizing himself with the hospitality patterns that prevail within the group he has come to study. The understanding of such patterns provides him with a key to social intercourse. In the United Nations, differing concepts of hospitality as between the East and the West have contributed, I have noticed, to increasing coolness between delegations.

Naturally enough, it was at a party that this was first brought home to me.

The American Delegation was host to other delegations that afternoon, and the cocktail lounge was filling rapidly as meeting after meeting was breaking up. The bar was plentifully set with trays of hors d'oeuvres, ice-bowls, and bottles. The delegates were jostling one another, pushing genially, shouting their orders at the servers. The Russians stood stiffly, not touching either food or drink. I tried to get one of the Soviet delegates a glass of vodka, but he clutched my sleeve in an agony of embarrassment.

"No, no, you mustn't. How can you? It is not polite. . . ."

No Russian will take food or drink offered by others unless he is repeatedly and urgently pressed to do so *by his hosts*. This, like the demands of platform eloquence, has nothing to do with the Soviets. This is a mattter of the Russian "culture," the code of behavior that is part of the total pattern of living, and has been for ages past. To disregard it, in the giving and receiving of hospitality, is a sign of immodesty, forwardness, rudeness, and, in general, extremely bad manners.

This strict code has its other side also; just as the guest can take refreshment only from his host, so the host must offer his hospitality repeatedly before it is accepted. The casual patterns of American hospitality, administered with jovial good humor, have no counterpart in Russia. There, the first offer of food or drink is merely perfunctory; it is only when the second, third, fourth and fifth come that the Russian knows he is welcomed.

This phase of Russian culture has on occasion been satirized by various Russian writers, the most noted example being Krylov's *Demian's Fish-Chowder*. In that story, the guest is pressed to eat and drink to the point where in desperation he grabs his hat and flees.

More difficult of detection, and equally conducive to vital misunderstandings, are the *different emotional connotations* attached to the same words in different cultures. One such word is *compromise*. To an Anglo-Saxon, a "compromise" marks a suitable approach to the matter in hand. The word indicates the intention of meeting an opponent halfway. In Russia, on the contrary, its meaning is largely derogatory. The word "compromise" usually signifies behavior which is amoral, in fact shameful, and involves a betrayal of principle. An appeal to agree to a compromise is to a Russian, therefore, nothing but a cynical and shameful invitation to sacrifice principle for convenience.

Life itself is prized differently in different cultures.

"Man is of divine origin, endowed by nature with reason and conscience," argued several Latin-American delegates, in international conferences concerned with drafting the Declaration of Human Rights.

"All life is of divine origin, not only human life," a representative of a Buddhist state murmured gently. "Is it not vanity to attribute divine origin to human life alone?"

"Man is not divine. He is rooted in the very land he tills, in the soil that bred him," once stated an Eastern European delegate from a preponderantly agricultural area. The Soviets suggested that science had reservations on the whole subject. The Anglo-Saxon bloc, evidently not quite definite on the subject of human divinity, kept still.

Humor makes an unexpected entry, now and again; and I remember one misunderstanding that was quite startling.

"Gentlemen," pleaded the Soviet delegate, "let us not behave like a bull in a china shop!"

He was speaking, naturally, in Russian. The Chinese delegate, however, was listening in English, as no Chinese translation was available that day. Promptly he raised his hand.

"Mr. Chairman, I should like the Soviet delegate to explain just what China has to do with his objections."

"Mr. Chairman, I said nothing whatever about China. The Chinese delegate must have misunderstood."

"Mr. Chairman, I distinctly heard my country mentioned. I request an explanation."

THAT incident was amusing. But to the social scientist misunderstandings such as those I have cited are less humorous than they are tragic and deplorable. In a world already strained with conflicting economic interests and political ambitions, misunderstandings based on cross-cultural ignorance can scarcely be excused. The social sciences of today —social psychology, cultural anthropology, sociology—provide tools for interpreting and gauging human behavior, regardless of how alien a culture may be. These tools were used with success during the war, in psychological warfare. They can be used for peace as well.

A Preview

The UN's Fourth General Assembly

By ALEXANDER GABRIEL

THE many and diverse issues on the 60-point agenda of the General Assembly in one way or another reflect its power to make the peace, strengthen it and—in the case of the Italian Colonies—to write it.

In its efforts to keep the peace the Assembly will probably renew the life of its watchdog commission in Greece, convinced that as long as the UN stands guard on the Greek-Slav borders no invasion armies will cross them. Similarly, it will probably instruct its Commission in Korea to exert still greater vigilance in respect to guerilla inroads which increasingly threaten the 38th parallel dividing the Assembly-recognized South from the communist-controlled North. It may even clamp a similar watch on internal communist activity now weakening the Southern government. One may question the positive achievements of the two Commissions, but one cannot deny that they are keeping the conflicts from openly embroiling the big powers. When the border fighting subsides, they are empowered to negotiate the terms of friendly relations.

In support of the field commissions, the Assembly will probably set up the Secretariat-sponsored UN Guard to safeguard security and the conduct of popular plebiscites.

In another bold step the world parliament is expected to extend the life of the Soviet-boycotted Interim Committee ("Little Assembly")—perhaps indefinitely—as the organizational prop of a vast machinery for resolving disputes through conciliation. Backed by full membership, this year-round body has power to report and investigate disputes and refer them to the International Court of Justice, or even to the General Assembly.

Important as all of these measures are, they have their deficiencies. They do not enjoy the support of the Soviet bloc. Nor do they substitute or compensate for the Assembly's temporary capitulation on the basic issues of atomic and general disarmament. But they represent the best the Assembly can do in trying to maintain the precarious peace balance between East and West, despite its 40 to 6 bias against communism —a balance that will probably be 40 to 5 after Yugoslavia's complete break with the Cominform.

Italian Colonies

To a lesser extent the Assembly will live up to the Charter by taking a stand against the solution of the Italian Colonies problem to which it almost yielded in the last session. At that time it very nearly decided to parcel out the colonies with cynical disregard for their eventual independence or the function of the Trusteeship Council. Its failure to reach that kind of solution had its sobering effect. It brought Italian consent to immediate independence of Tripolitania, and British approval of domestic autonomy to Cyranaica. The Assembly will seek a solution by combining the two areas into an independent Lybian Union, to be preceded by a five-year period of trusteeship. This will give the Western powers enough time to assure their military hegemony in the area. On the basis of its good will offer in Tripolitania, Italy hopes to receive protection for its economic interests there, plus a trusteeship over Somaliland, if only to satisfy national pride. Unless bitterly opposed by native groups, Eritrea will pobably be absorbed by Ethiopia and the Sudan.

To assure the economic security of the trust areas, the Assembly may set up advisory boards for each area to be composed of interested powers, including the US.

If the Assembly receives a report from the Conciliation Commission on Palestine, it will be able to write the final peace chapter on Palestine. What the Assembly will have to decide is whether its Paris recommendation which called for the admission of an unlimited number of Arabs to Israel while depriving that State of some ninety thousand Jews, under an internationalized Jerusalem, will not in effect result in an Arab State under the Star of David. Israel, now a UN member, will work to retain Jerusalem, but with a guarantee of safety for the Holy Places under a UN Commission if necessary. Israel will also work to retain the Negev. This reduces the problem of peace to what to do with some one million Arab refugees.

Point Four

Probably the most important decision the Assembly will make, in its effect on peace, will be one aimed at strengthening the economies of under-developed areas. It will almost certainly approve a multi-million dollar program of technical assistance as recommended by the Economic and Social Council. By means of this vast project, the UN in partnership with the Specialized Agencies will mobilize the technical "know-how" of the world, to advance the agricultural and industrial frontiers of needy areas as a long-range step toward world economic stability.

Motoring in Europe

is pleasanter and safer as signs and signals become uniform

By PETER SHORE

GOOD Europeans will rejoice in E.C.E.'s latest achievement. Twelve European countries from both sides of the Iron Curtain, and the three western zones of Germany, have approved a draft convention on roads which will be of the greatest importance to continental travel and trade. It deals primarily with the construction of new highways, the establishment of an international highway code, and the easing of customs restrictions.

THE background for this agreement is the history of the motor vehicle. It is only thirty years since cars and trucks first appeared in quantity upon the roads. Two decades later technical developments and mass production had so increased both performance and quantity as to create major traffic problems in all the leading cities of the continent. In the ten years preceding the outbreak of war, national governments woke up to the fact that a great new industry had been born, and that the development of roads for commercial and military reasons was of the first importance.

IN GERMANY autobahns, in Italy autostradas, in France routes nationales, and in England, trunk roads and by-passes were hastily constructed. Nevertheless, in 1939 the problems of routing, congestion, casualties and safety precautions had still to be solved. This great development took place, too, during a time when international co-operation was at its lowest ebb. Little or no effort was made to ensure that national road systems did not conflict, with the result that continental travel was full of man-made difficulties—of registration licenses, unfamiliar road signs and customs barriers—which a little planning might easily have eliminated.

NOW, of course, the problems have become far more difficult. So much so that, while agreements on some points are admitted to be in principle desirable they will require in practice a fundamental change of motoring habits. The reservations which the United Kingdom Government has felt constrained to make, serve to illustrate the complexity of some of these problems. Great pressure was brought to bear on the British representatives to agree to a provision which would require traffic to "keep to the right." Apart from Sweden, the U.K. is the only European country that prefers the left. With two systems simultaneously operating, both British vehicles abroad and foreign motorists here suffer the inconvenience and impaired vision which the dual system entails. Clearly there is a case for a uniform system.

ON THE other hand, thousands of British motor vehicles have been constructed with their driving seats to the right, while millions of traffic conscious citizens have acquired an automatic reflex of looking to the right when crossing the road. With road casualties averaging 250,000 a year, the Ministry of Transport is naturally anxious to prevent a controlled slaughter becoming a general massacre.

THE equipment of motor vehicles presents another problem. The convention insists on two red rear reflectors irrespective of the number of rear lights. Also it requires that

trailers should be provided with an automatic braking device, to hold them if they should fly loose. In the interest of increased road safety these measures are undoubtedly desirable, but the fact remains that British vehicles do not have this equipment, and at this stage it would require a great outlay to bring them into line.

The railways and international waterways—the alternative means of transport—suffered severely from the depredations of attacking and retreating armies. Marshalling yards and bridges were favorite targets for bombers, while marauding fighters played havoc with slow-moving barges and rolling stock. By the spring of 1945, European communications had become chaotic, and their rehabilitation became a pressing duty on the E.C.E. Much has been done since, but the cost of replacements is high, with resulting high costs levied on goods and passengers. But for state aid, many of the European railway systems would now be in the receivers' hands. The revived European economy, striving to attain an even higher level of trade than that of the prewar years, seeking also to attract a larger number of tourists than ever before, has had to turn to road development.

THE draft plan approved by the Sub-Committee on Roads seems surprisingly modest. A 26,000 mile network is intended, linking all the principal cities of the continent. It is to run from London to Warsaw, from Bordeaux to Belgrade, from Oslo to Naples. In the main, the international highways will follow existing roads, but much construction to join up the different systems will be required.

WHERE necessary, existing highways will be developed to conform to one of three road categories: having 2, 4 or 6 lanes respectively and varying in width from 7 to 10½ metres. Roads are to be designed to relieve monotony, and attention—in at least the negative sense of prevention—is being paid to aesthetic considerations. Regimentally-planted trees, hoardings, and bill posters are out. The Committee's experts rightly consider the beauties of the countryside are best left alone. More appropriately they have turned their attention to the provision of much needed ancillary services — garages, inns, first-aid posts and telephone kiosks.

ITALY and Germany, both confronted with serious unemployment problems, consider the proposed network as the type of New Deal solution that their economies require. Individuals in all the countries whether for commercial or tourist reasons are enthusiastic—as indeed they might be. For not only will good roads reduce costs, not only will they enable the tourist to get more out of his limited time, but they will also benefit by agreements which will dispense with many of the customs formalities—particularly in intermediate countries—to which they have hitherto been subjected.

New International Treaty Will Help US Tourists Enjoy Europe More

When US motorists tour the Continent in the future, they will probably for the first time enjoy full legal protection for themselves and their cars in every country through which they may pass. For it is likely that the UN's world conference on road and transport, now meeting in Geneva, will agree on the first world treaty ever proposed to govern road travel. Typical of the delegations which are attending this session is the American group. It includes members of Federal and State highway agencies, organized motor clubs, safety organizations, and American automobile manufacturing companies.

Since the Americans are the world's most numerous and diligent motorists, the recommendations of the US delegation to the conference are carrying great weight. Principal clauses in the proposed treaty concern identification, of the vehicle and its driver, the easing of customs procedures, uniform safety rules and technical requirements.

The scope of the proposed treaty will be limited to private cars. It applies only to international traffic. Domestic traffic will remain within the exclusive jurisdiction of the home country. Forerunner of the new world treaty on automobile travel is the Pan-American convention on auto traffic signed by the United States and Latin American countries in 1946.

UN UNIVERSITY

NYU will teach anyone anything he wants to know about the UN

By RUTH KARPF

Former foreign correspondent now in the US

THE tall, blond colonel and the girl in the blue dress blend easily into the summer evening crowd of New York's Washington Square. The heat is heavy on the dusty elms. The lights in the massive buildings of New York University go out. From the studios and the attics of Greenwich Village, from the sidewalks and basements of downtown's Little Italy, even from the posh apartment houses of lower Fifth Avenue people have come to stroll and talk, to relax on the benches—even to hold hands in the dusk.

But the colonel and the girl show slight interest in the thin sliver of moon. They are engrossed in—of all things—a discussion of Russia's omnibus resolution before the United Nations Security Council to add 14 new countries to the world organization. The colonel is a political science instructor at West Point and the girl a student-assistant in New York University's new curriculum devoted to the United Nations, its functions and structure.

That program is designed to give the people of the world their first UN University. It was developed, both in concept and practical detail, by Prof. Clyde Eagleton, N.Y.U.'s noted authority in international law. Professor Eagleton believes that the UN is here to stay. New York University's Graduate Program of Studies in United Nations and World Affairs is set up on that assumption. It draws on every department and all the resources of the university to build as rich and flexible a curriculum as possible. Courses last from several weeks to years. Students supplement classroom work with research in New York's large and specialized libraries and direct observation in UN headquarters at Lake Success.

The curriculum is broad enough to serve the needs of anyone who is interested in any particular phase of the UN or to groom specialists for any department or agency.

The young American dentist who wanted to work for the World Health Organization typifies one section of the student body. The UN University outlined for him a program which ranged from international law and organization to the compilation of Social Security statistics. That, added to his US education in modern dentistry, makes him one of that very valuable species—the kind of "you-can-ship-me-around" expert which organizations such as WHO desperately need.

PART of the study program is a "model United Nations," in which students become delegates to the Security Council, to the Economic and Social Council, to the General Assembly, to various commissions and committees and actually conduct arguments, consult documents, engage in debates, reach decisions.

American students especially like to feel that they are getting practical experience.

One of them is the olive-skinned lawyer from the Chelsea dock district of Boston who is grooming himself for the State Department and

wants to become a UN specialist when he gets there.

Another is the pert brunette with the red harlequins from Greenwich, Conn., whom a sensitive political science teacher at Vassar steered from a preoccupation with football to international affairs and who is now determined to get a job at the UN "if I have to start as a waitress in the delegates' dining room."

One youthful student is an economics major, an attractive quiet girl with sleek black hair and discreet Jay Thorpe bonnet who is with the review section of the UN now but wants to work her way up to the economic affairs department of the Secretariat.

For the slim, 33-year-old Chung Hao, from Nanking, the UN University provides a chance to learn how social and technological advancement can be achieved on a practical level even while major ideological conflicts obscure political understanding. Chung Hao hopes to go back to China to teach at the college that sent him to New York.

"My people really don't know what the UN is," he explains, "and whatever happens in China, they should have some comprehension, at least. After all the Charter of the UN begins with the phrase 'We the peoples of the United Nations . . .' "

To Zeev Cohen, 27-year old bachelor of laws from Tel Aviv, master of laws from Yale, doctor of laws from Lyons, New York University will provide the final polish he needs for a career in the Israeli diplomatic service.

"Chaotic conditions such as we've had in Palestine obscure a great many facts," he says, "and despite the obvious one that the State of Israel is the result of a UN decision, the people in my country feel that what really got them the state was their own army. The UN truces were considered by many a tactical maneuver to give the beaten Arab armies a breather. There is a lot to clear up at home about the UN—and even more in the rest of the Middle East. It's a job that interests me."

A Congregational minister from Down Under adds, in an earthy Australian twang, "I find that in church work people keep coming to you to ask what really makes our present world go 'round. I'd like to be able to answer that practically, honestly and, I s'pose, hopefully. That's what brought me here."

For these men and women from literally every continent—who see in the United Nations one of the great moral achievements of modern man—the University has built a special UN lookout from which they can get a frontline view of the international organization at work. That lookout is known as the Institute for Annual Review of United Nations Affairs and consists of an intensive week of visits to Lake Success, briefings from top UN experts and officials, concise summaries by a panel of various university professors, putting ideas, thoughts and information into a pattern—plus social get-togethers of the students themselves to kick around their own ideas and reactions.

For these last the University furnishes the heavily upholstered chairs and sofas, punch and biscuits. And after a solid 12 hours of drinking-in the UN, the institute students relax and talk—UN!

The political science professor from Puerto Rico sits forward in one of the chairs and argues his favorite thesis: that what one must make people understand in order to prevent their disillusionment is that the UN was designed to maintain the peace, not to make it. He came to New York especially for the Institute and finds "the combination of UN headquarters, the wonderful libraries you have here and the really honest and sincere discussion we get from UN officials—a very exciting vacation!"

"Tex" came to New York "special for the Institute" also. The lazy singsong of his voice, the long stride of his walk, his plaid shirts give him a college-boy naivete. Actually, Tom Joseph Jr. of Harlington, Texas, is a graduate of the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College and, at 23 a successful entrepreneur in the construction business, a Navy destroyer veteran, a gentleman farmer (100 acres), president of his class at Baylor Law School, where he is now a student, and above all a budding Texan politician. "But when I get set" he says, "I want to win not because I can kiss more babies than anyone else, or shake more hands, or remember more damn first names. I want to get in because I know what it's about and because I can really do something for the people who elect me."

The young man from Burma at 24 has been a teacher, a senior government official, a second secretary at the Burmese Embassy in Washington and is now assistant to Burma's UN liaison officer at Lake Success. He is sophisticated, immaculately groomed, exudes a kind of mundane savvy. "I was really sent here by the Embassy for training," he explains,—"and frankly I thought it would be rather a bore. But it has turned out to be both interesting and useful."

The Quaker professor from Wichita, Kansas, spoke up. "The love of peace is an educational process—and when we can teach it in colleges we're already shaping a better world."

At this the blond young colonel chipped in: "This will sound strange to you," he said, "but we try to do that at West Point."

The colonel, Jerry Sage, was an OSS officer, caught and imprisoned by the Germans, first in North Africa and again three times in Europe after three successful escapes. He finished the war in the Pacific, and was on duty on a secret mission in Japan at the time the A-bomb pulverized Hiroshima.

That day—and the months in German prison camps—taught Colonel Sage what peace is worth. Now he teaches it at West Point.

Which is why he came to NYU's United Nations University and why, as the lights dim in the massive buildings, he walks across the park with the girl in the flimsy blue dress and discusses not the new moon but Russia's omnibus resolution for admission of new members.

UNSCOB observers survey the Yugoslav frontier area from their post in wild country on the northern borders of Greece.

GREEK national army troops gather to talk with a Chinese obs server at a forward position along the northern borders

Greece's Three Year Ordeal

UN Observers Have Played A Major Role In Ending the Conflict

WHEN the history of our time is written, the repor of the United Nations Special Committee on th Balkans (UNSCOB) will appear in all its greatness. Fo this committee has played a major role in localizing th grievous conflict being within waged within Greece an along its borders.

While the Balkan Committee has been unable to accom plish the same final results as, for example, UN Mediato Ralph Bunche in Palestine, it has nevertheless created moral and political climate which prevented the fightin in Greece from becoming the point of departure for new world war. Working under almost impossible condi tions—in Salonika and later in Athens—under the chair manship of the brilliant Mexican statesman Castill Najera, the committee has ceaselessly offered its goo

AT FLORINA headquarters, members of UNSCOB meet t discuss conditions in the guerrilla warfare in the regio

A VILLAGE priest at Florina stops for a brief chat with two observers for UNSCOB on duty in his area.

A WOUNDED guerrilla fighter at a forward hospital tells his story to one of UNSCOB's representatives.

NEW HOMES replace devastation in the Louros Valley, bringing new hope into the lives of the many peasants there.

offices, investigated frontier incidents and done everything in its power to confine, then end the conflict.

With the imaginative improvisation which has consistently marked UN missions in the field, the Balkan Committee developed observation teams which went into the thick of the battle and exposed themselves to the dangers of cross-fire, so as constantly to deter on the spot the rise of further complications.

The complaints with which the Balkan Committee has been bombarded by Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria run into the hundreds. Each of them was carefully examined and discussed, and at no time did the committee lose patience with any of the participants, but rather kept in mind the crucial task with which it was entrusted by the world organization.

For more than six months, members of the committee were practically confined to two small hotels with no modern comforts. Their safety zone was less than two miles square. And yet not a single committee or staff member left his post.

In later stages, the Committee had to deal with many other complex problems, especially that of the refugees. On March 4, 1949, the committee reported to Secretary General Trygve Lie on the grave plight of the Greek refugees, whose number it estimated at nearly a million.

Many times during the past three years the situation on the Greek borders deteriorated so gravely, and the relationships between Greece on the one side, and Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia on the other, became so intense that any slight border incident in this traditionally explosive area could have led to a new war.

But the UN Balkan Committee was able—sometimes directly, more often indirectly—to use its good offices for clearing up misunderstandings, easing tension, suggesting solutions when none could be found through direct diplomatic dealings.

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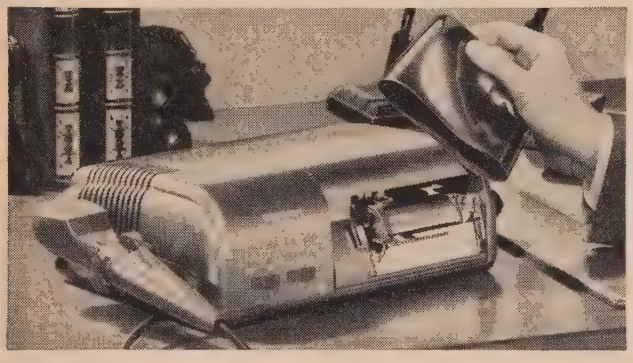

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By Herbert A. Wilkinson

Freedom for

By SIR WILLIAM P. HILDRED, C.B., O.B.E.
Director-General, International Air Transport Association (IATA)

EDITOR'S NOTE

Today it is recognized that international organization and cooperation are the need and hallmark of our time. But thirty years ago, all this was far less obvious. Hence the special importance of IATA (International Air Transport Association) which this month celebrates the 30th anniversary of its founding. From the outset it has been, and remains, both case-history and lesson in the ways for achieving international amity and accord.

Today international air transport is largely carried on by some 70 companies who are members of IATA. Some are controlled entirely by private enterprise, with varying degrees of government supervision. Others are entirely owned by governments of such diverse political composition as, for example, Canada, Great Britain, and Czechoslovakia. Still other airlines are partly owned by governments and partly by private corporations. Yet representatives of all these different types of economic philosophy have worked and continue to work together. Politics as such do not enter into their differences.

This year, the world's airlines will have operating revenues in excess of $1,000,000,000—an impressive figure. But even in the United States, which is second only to Australia in the amount of flying done by the average citizen, the total income of the domestic airlines is about one-sixth of one per cent of the national income.

Nevertheless, the small proportion of the world's wealth which passes through the hands of the airlines represents payment not only for vital public service, but also for a vanguard agency that has solved or is solving many trying tasks of world collaboration.

A modern aircraft can fly over a half dozen states in an afternoon. It might belong to any one of these, or to a seventh. It is obviously inconceivable that this could be achieved without agreement among all these countries and all these airline managements. Such agreements, and they are manifold and far-reaching, were arrived at through IATA and other organizations because there was a clear-cut choice—either international concord or no international air transport. Perhaps, then, the moral of IATA's thirty years of cooperation on an international scale is that when cooperation is forced on people, they find it not only pragmatic, but even pleasant.

BACK in 1938, when international air transport was on the threshold of its twentieth anniversary as an industry and a public service, a Premier of Hungary told delegates to an International Air Transport Association meeting in Budapest that their enterprise had in effect made all men brothers.

It was, of course, pure bunk. Everyone knows what happened to that concept of universal brotherhood—and to the Premier of Hungary, for that matter—in the ensuing decade.

Today, as a vastly expanded and reconstituted industry celebrates its thirtieth anniversary, the temptation to talk in the same terms is equally great. But this is a more sober and chastened era. We are no longer so very rosy minded and we cannot afford to think in cloudy generalities. We have found out that the primary need of our time is the realization that, brothers or not, we have got to live together, and in order to do that we must first learn to work together.

If the anniversary of air transport has any but a purely historical significance, it is as an example that men of many nations and many political complexions can recognize that necessity and can adapt themselves to it. The great peculiarity of international air service is that it entirely

Flight

THE AUTHOR

depends on international co-operation and understanding, and that the process of organized and continuous co-operation began almost simultaneously with the flights themselves.

Air transport happens to be a maze of complications. Each aircraft has thousands of parts. Flying it is a business of constant adjustment to wind, weather, load, fuel, altitude and what have you. And flying it over a national border multiplies those complications by each new language, system of measurement, currency and set of business customs one encounters. It is no wonder, therefore, that every time a transport takes off on a scheduled international flight it represents the culmination of thousands of detailed international agreements.

With this in mind, it is interesting to see what the international airlines have achieved. The organized industry began 30 years ago as a group of six companies, operating a handful of aircraft over a few hundred miles of routes. Today, there are 70 airlines interested enough in international operations to be members of IATA. They operate 2,500 aircraft under more than 40 flags and they serve a route network of more than half a million miles.

In 30 years, the passenger loads of the world's airlines have grown from 3,500 to 20,000,000 persons a year. The number of miles flown annually has increased from 600,000 to 1,000,000,000. The amount of mail and cargo carried has mounted from 47 tons in 1919 to half a million.

Between 1919 and 1949, the speed and reliability of air transport have been tripled. Its safety quotient has been multiplied by 25. And its cost has been cut by seven-eighths.

Moreover, as the result of 30 years of co-operation through IATA, the airlines all speak the same language, use the same documents and manuals, measure with the same rules and follow the same procedures. They are all part of a worldwide rate pattern. And in all essential matters, large and small, they pool the best of their knowledge and experience for the good and safety of all their patrons.

This is not written either to praise IATA or even as an exposition of its workings, but it seems to me highly significant and hopeful that there exists today a group of enterprises like the airlines who can, in an agency like IATA, work so closely and effectively together. A single meeting of the IATA Traffic Conferences will ordinarily result in as many as 65 or 70 international agreements between pairs of members. These, and the recommendations of IATA bodies in other fields, will be put into effect by mechanics at Karachi, lawyers at New York, ramp attendants at Prague, ticket clerks at Auckland and wireless operators at Casablanca.

Anything that IATA does is inextricably bound up with governments. In air transport problems, they have acted with what is, everything considered, a remarkable degree of unanimity. The rate recommendations of the Conferences are approved before they can become effective by a long series of individual governments. The regulations under which airlines operate, the facilities they use are all very largely affected—and beneficially so — by such governmental organizations as the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunications Union, the Universal Postal Union and many more besides.

The record of the past, in fact, is such as to encourage quite valid hopes of far greater things in the future. We are on the brink of even more accelerated and far-reaching expansion. We know that it will bring with it complications beside which our past problems will seem like first-year algebra. But we are quite certain that we have found in international co-operation the formula for their solution.

Freedom for Flight *continued*

The ambition of the world's airlines for the future can be summed up quite simply. We expect in the next decade or two to double the present speed of our service, to add very considerably to our route mileage, to triple—at least—the amount of cargo we carry and, finally, to do this all at a per-mile cost that will bring it within reach of millions.

Technically and scientifically, we know enough now to accomplish the job. At least two jet transports which should be able to fly at 500 miles an hour or more on regular service within the next five years are now going through their tests. The same applies to those navigation and landing aids which we will require.

From that point on, our problems will be more rarefied and more difficult. We must achieve a greater political freedom of flight, we hope to accustom governments to thinking in terms of transport that moves at a pace somewhat faster than that of a tramp steamer, and we must, by a combination of technical and operational efficiency, bring the cost of our service down to the point where flight across the Atlantic will be a perfectly normal holiday to the bookkeeper and the factory worker.

Of all of these, the first will probably be the most difficult. We must batter down the obstacles of nationalism that still plague the world and us, and we must eventually hope to knit into the great pattern of wo air routes that vast transport syst which is being constructed by Union of Soviet Socialist Republi

This means, first of all, that must have a multilateral air tra port agreement among all the tions. The right to fly is presen chopped up into hundreds of lit bilateral treaties, each with a ser of niggling little clauses as to wh where and under what conditions aircraft of peaceful commerce enter and do business. There a many good and needful features the bilaterals, but they must be tra ferred to a larger canvas. To tr air transport by compartmenting is the same sort of mumbo-jumbo curing a nosebleed by the comb of cock or the leg of a frog, and I ho and believe that 20 years from n it will be recognized as fundame ally wrong.

When I say all nations, I inclu the USSR. That country is not present a part of the international a transport system. It does not belo to ICAO, nor does its air transp agency, Aeroflot, belong to IAT Russia is not, at the moment, ve extensively interested in internatio transport service and prefers rig ly to concentrate upon building d mestic routes to serve the vast R sian sub-continent. But connectio with Russian air routes already exi the doors of both organizations main open to her, and I am ve hopeful that eventually she will co in. It is no secret that in the mea time, the USSR has an open in tation to send observers to IAT meetings and that it receives, I ho with interest, IATA documents.

Full freedom of air transport al requires an end to monetary d unities and currency shortages. W have been plagued with them sin the start and, through the medium the IATA Clearing House, we a dealing with them as successfully anyone can, but we have not l hope that we will come to a wo currency. To hold much longer to t belief that a potato or a shoe as item of the world's wealth must considered in terms of kopecs in o place, cents in another and gulden

Air Safety: The Record

Safety has been the preoccupation of virtually everyone in international air transport since its beginnings thirty years ago. Their efforts during the past three decades have so far accomplished a 2500 per cent improvement—to the point where the passenger in a scheduled airliner is as safe as the driver or passenger in any American auto.

The extent of accidents in the airlines is best measured against the background of the traffic carried. Thus, preliminary figures for 1948 indicate that nearly 20,000,000 passengers were carried by the 70 member airlines of IATA for a total distance of 9,000,000,000 miles. During the year, there were less than 20 accidents involving passenger fatalities. The accident ratio was 1 in every 35,000,000 for each mile travelled.

The 1948 experience is reasonably typical in that it represents a 100 per cent improvement over 1947, and that the majority of airlines had no fatal accidents at all. Some of them have maintained accident-free records for periods ranging from six to eighteen years.

Behind such records is a highly ramified but well-integrated effort on an international scale. It involves airlines, governments and manufacturers throughout most of the world. Construction safety margins, operating regulations, standards, weather reporting, search and rescue, and joint support for needed navigation and landing aids, are all agreed upon at the international level by consultation between ICAO, IATA, IMO, ITU, ISO and enforced by governments and airlines. Every accident is subjected to investigation.

In this international safety effort, the airlines not only act as advisers to their own governments, but also maintain within IATA Technical Conferences and Committees. In effect, these comprise a consultative staff of 200 of the industry's experts, working continuously on both immediate and long range problems.

a third is a symptom of that national idiocy for which all internationalists are working to find a cure.

Far more unnecessary and inexcusable is that mass of red tape which is dignified with the title of customs and immigration regulations and which retards the speed and hampers the development of air traffic. There is much too much of it, and most of it is still administered according to regulations which were carefully drawn up to deal with sailboats, camel caravans and narrow-gauge railways. This matter, however, is also more quickly and easily curable. ICAO has worked out a rationalization of papers and a streamlining of procedures which is now before governments. They are all for it in principle, and while it will take time to pass them through all of the myriads of government departments concerned, it should not take too long. I am confident that we can look forward in our lifetime to the day when the visa will be forgotten, the passport a real assistance,

FROM that point on, the future of international air transport lies with the airlines and with what they can do to make the best use of better technical facilities and greater freedom of operation. I am convinced myself that that future will be found among the millions of the world's wage earners. International air transport already gives them the chance to travel extensively within the limits of the time they can take off from their jobs. It must now try to give it to them at a price they can pay.

Luxury in air travel is a good thing: good food, a good wine, magazines, music, movies, television, a smiling and personable hostess all help to while away the tedium of a journey —until, that is, the new jets make journeys so short that they can't be tedious. We will always try to give the utmost in comfort and convenience, but we know that any service which is restricted to those who can pay the top price is very limited in its appeal.

Much has been said of austerity travel at low prices. Some austerity will help reduce the cost of air transport, but a seat remains a seat, travelers will always weigh an average of 150 pounds, will always need food and water at intervals, and will always require a certain minimum amount of convenience. We will get much closer to the base of the economic pyramid as the economic characteristics of our equipment improve. An airplane that can cross the Atlantic in six hours does not mean only a quick journey for those who travel in it—it also means a doubling of the number of seats that can be offered to the public in a given period of time and a consequent reduction in the unit cost of each seat.

I do not mean, however, to imply that the airlines can sit back and wait for someone to deliver new planes and install new facilities at airports. There must be a further effort to develop off-season travel, to accommodate service to the needs of the public and to make the advantages of foreign travel more apparent to them [see page 44]. There must also be an intensification of every effort to increase operational efficiency by further standardization, simplification and unification and improve understanding between all parties to an air transport operation. We are proud today that we have made flying safe for the Venezuelan pilot who is landing a British airplane at a French airport on an American instrument system at a speed of 250 miles an hour. When he starts coming in at 500 miles per hour, international understanding must be infinitely more deep, more comprehensive and more automatic.

WHAT all of this boils down to, of course, is that the bright promise of air transport — like the promise of anything else except ignorance, disease, poverty and war—depends upon how completely international we can make ourselves and our institutions.

On this point, the people of air transport must have strong opinions. If their enterprise has not exactly made men brothers, it has made them uncomfortably close neighbors. Moreover, it has pioneered, as well, in the techniques of the business of living and working together. From this experience, I believe, there are several morals to be drawn.

If we want to avoid devastating wars and race suicide—indeed, if we wish to avoid continually recurrent economic crises—the present population of the world has got to make up its mind to live together. We can no longer try to remove from the earth all those who don't agree with us, for we have now advanced to that point of scientific achievement where we shall blow the earth itself to smithereens in doing so. We have reached the point where we cannot afford war if we want to survive.

WE must face the knowledge that most nationalistic activities can lead to war, while most international activities lead away from it.

If the argument is sound, then it is clear that the activities of groups of men whose business is to fly across all borders assumes an importance tremendous in scope and in the possibility of good for the human race. If this argument is sound, the policy of any body dealing with transport and communications must be, apart from carrying passengers, goods and mail, to fight national pride, national greed, national prejudice, national vulgarity and national selfishness—and to fight them remorselessly wherever they interfere with the free flow of international trade and travel.

This puts on a different footing altogether such a thing as a showdown at an airport with a surly customs officer. Looked at in this light, it is not hysteria or bad temper, but is part of a campaign that makes the Crusades look like two cents.

The policy toward which the airlines have had to work, and which they must inevitably realize completely, is internationalism, pure and simple, in our own field. As operators we cannot entirely control policy, but we can exert whatever influence we have upon our governments to remove all unnecessary regulatory and ideological barriers to the right of airplanes—and the men and ideas in them—to fly where they will.

The Mass Market For Air Travel

By HERBERT A. WILKINSON

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US Office of International Trade

THE part played by the airline industry in the development and extension of world trade has reached impressive proportions—and promises even more for the future. Today cargo and travelers have become, largely through the energy, know-how and vision of the men who have guided the growth of air transport, the Siamese Twins of world trade.

For too long travel had been the forgotten partner in trade among the nations. Between 1920 and 1940, 8 billion dollars in exchange was created by the foreign travel of US residents. The fact that this figure represented more than half of the surplus of US exports over imports was of special significance.

For the travel of US residents abroad is, in effect, an import. The expenditures of the US citizen for transport, lodging, food, and entertainment bring dollars into the country visited as surely as the expenditure of an importer's dollars for rubber, tin, and copper purchased from the country. Today the world needs dollars as never before.

Secretary of Commerce Sawyer recently put the case for foreign trade this way:

"World Trade means far more to the American people now than it did 10 years ago. In 1938, the total value of our exports and imports combined was slightly over $5,000,000,000. In 1948, the total value of our exports and imports was just under $20,000,000,000. This means that more people in the United States are earning their living as exporters and importers. More people are working in our factories, in our mines, in our forests, and on our farms to produce the things we sell to other countries. More people are selling and using things that we buy from other nations."

It has been well said that the travel dollar spent abroad is an earned dollar. It is not a loaned dollar or a lend-lease dollar which comes out of the taxpayer's pocket. The traveler gets transport, food, accommodation, entertainment, and service for his travel dollar. As added dividends he gets new business, education, health, sport, and recreation. He gets new ideas, new horizons, new understanding, and therefore, enriches his investment in living. And the travel dollar comes flying home in new trade and employment, as well as providing the funds for new travelers to the United States when exchange conditions permit.

Not only in US foreign trade but in that of other countries, travel has ranked high among their greatest industries. For instance in Britain it was recently announced in Parliament that travel had become the United Kingdom's greatest dollar earner, having forged ahead of the textile industry. Switzerland's capital investment in its travel plant represents one tenth of the total national capital investment, and its income from travel represents approximately one seventh of the total national income. To my mind an industry of this size and importance deserves the same quality and amount of attention, analysis, and application of business know-how as has been given the movement and handling of goods.

CURRENT conditions impose a special challenge upon the airline industry. To meet that challenge, it must realize three things:

1. Airlines have just begun the job of developing their markets.

2. Additional and possibly cooperative promotional effort by the airlines is needed.

3. The airlines working in cooperation with other segments of the travel industry — including travel agents, hotels, cultural and recreation centers—must look beyond present market horizons.

What is this new market and why is it so different from the one to which transport has been catering?

Speed of travel, which the airlines provide, is reaching the time budget of a great new sector of Americans. There are now well over 30,000,000

Since so much travel is undertaken for pleasure, it too often escapes consideration as an item of economic importance—on a world-wide scale. The accompanying article, by an official of the US Department of Commerce, is designed to stimulate re-evaluation. Most people tend to look on the spanning of an ocean between dinner and breakfast as a symbol of technological romance. It is that, certainly. But it also means that more dollars and pounds and crowns and francs and zlotys are put into circulation in world markets.

wage earners in the US enjoying vacations with pay—many for the first time. More than four fifths of all persons employed in private industry in this country and 97 per cent of all office workers are eligible for paid vacations. Today well over 12,000,000 or over 85 per cent of all union workers have paid vacations in their working agreements, whereas, even as recently as 1940, only 25 per cent were so covered.

Those figures are but a part of the indications of a new market which has barely been touched. According to the US Bureau of Census, in 1947, 15,000,000 families had taxable incomes within the $3,000 to $6,000 bracket. These are the people for the most part short on vacation time. This provides a tremendous potential for travel. Compare these figures with the report of only 4 million families with taxable incomes over $6,000 for the year 1947.

PERHAPS one of the most triking findings is that historically from 50 to 70 per cent of all Americans traveling to Europe and the Mediterranean have been either European born or of first generation European extraction. From 1929 to 1937 an average of 136,000 European born Americans traveled to Europe—over half our European travelers. Nevertheless, amazingly enough, these travelers have represented in any one year less than 1 per cent of the total number of European born Americans. The Census reports for 1940 show that there were nearly 30,000,000 US citizens who were either foreign born or whose parents were foreign born. These people have a natural interest in their native lands or the lands of their parents. But not many of them have been in a position to satisfy their desire to visit the countries that have such a strong appeal to them.

Evidence of the demand by middle-income groups for travel facilities appears in the following figures: In January, 1949, 60 per cent of first class trans-atlantic steamship accommodations were occupied, and in February, 57 per cent. In contrast, cabin and tourist class space was 99 per cent occupied in January and 87 per cent occupied in February. This indicates clearly that there is a sizeable demand for travel to Europe among persons of the middle income group. These are preliminary figures for just two winter months. They may not reflect exactly the situation throughout the year, though January and February are a reasonable sample.

In answering the question of the location of these travelers, the survey has shown some expected and some unexpected results. As might be anticipated 44 per cent of those recorded in January and February were residents of the state of New York. It was more of a surprise to learn that California was the second state. Illinois ranked third with Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, Washington, respectively, sixth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh, indicating that a considerable domestic travel was involved in this movement. The other states in this series were New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

We made a spot survey for part of February of the citizens returning by air who live in New York State. Of them, more than 80 per cent lived in metropolitan New York and suburbs. This preponderance of travelers from large urban rather than rural areas, was also evident in a sample survey made in Illinois. In this case, Chicago and suburbs provided about 70 per cent of Illinois' air traffic.

The distribution of returning foreign born Americans shown in the survey indicates some interesting market development possibilities. Italian-Americans ranked first, with British-Americans second, and citizens born in Norway, Germany, Sweden, and Poland-Danzig following in that order.

This January-February study also reveals some very significant data with regard to family travel. It shows that over 60 per cent of all family travel, and a higher percentage of large-family travel is carried by surface vessels. Air travelers are 72 per cent men. Of these, 53 per cent are within the 40- to 59-year age group. This compares with the more equal 55 per cent of sea travel by men. Of the men who travel by sea, 40 per cent are from 40 to 59 years of age; the principal age group of women sea travelers is the same.

THIS January-February study also shows the need for mobilization of available government data as well as increased business research by private industry as a basis for planned development of the travel market. It indicates an undeveloped market in the millions of new people who have paid vacations, the foreign born Americans and their offspring, and middle income families.

Advertising in the United States has been developed as a principal means of creating and expanding the American market to an extent very difficult for those in many countries fully to appreciate or even comprehend. The airline industry knows it must advertise to develop new markets and that its story must be told in

The Mass Market for Air Travel *continued*

the right places at the right time in the most compelling fashion.

Several years ago the airline industry had a great joint advertising campaign with the slogan, "It pays to fly." I am very sorry that has been discontinued, except on the small scale for air express. The institutional advertising dollar, according to advertising experts, multiplies itself in value to even a greater extent than individual company advertising. The individual advertising dollar is largely a competitive dollar. The institutional advertising dollar creates more business for all so that the individual advertising dollar has more purpose.

A co-ordinated co-operative effort between all sectors of the travel industry also is vital if travel's contribution to world trade is to be rapidly achieved by developing new markets.

FAILURE to achieve that coordination can ultimately mean that all parts of the industry will lose customers; that the money which could be spent on all forms of travel might be siphoned off into other channels; that the middle income markets with their high potentialities will not be fully tapped.

Co-operative effort to develop and to service the traveler appears to have great possibilities in the virtually untapped market of special group tours. There is the special group made up of farmers. Farmers have their leisure time during the off-season for most other classes of people. A midwest agent planned a tour for 30 of them last winter, carefully arranged to meet the special interest of farmers. They flew over and back taking advantage of winter excursion rates. It was only a 30-day tour but they visited England, France, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, and Denmark.

On their return they talked so enthusiastically about what they had seen and learned that their tour was followed by a party of 32 midwestern women (from cities and towns as well as farms). The tours established personal friendships between the travelers and farm men and women in Europe which probably will continue for many years. The travelers all paid their own way at an average cost of $1,600. Newspaper publicity resulting from the farmers' tour alone exceeded 150 thousand column inches.

There are many other special groups who could be organized to take special tours designed to meet their special interest.

Doctors should be easy to sell ... going to England to investigate the medical setup there.

Our viniculturists might get ... tips in Europe.

There are the American-Irish, the American-Italians, the American-Norwegians, the American-German, American-Swedish, etc.

A large group is the World War ... veterans who served in Europe.

CO-OPERATIVE effort in the travel industry to provide for the special interests, and needs of these groups alone might well go far toward reaching the current goal of $2 billion exchange needed annually by customer countries. This could be regarded as only a beginning, once full potentialities of air travel are thoroughly exploited.

If the airline industry appreciates the opportunity and job before it in developing the market individually, jointly, and in co-operation with the other sectors of the travel industry—if the same type of initiative and know-how applied in its initial development are applied to the study and development of the movement and handling of persons—it may not only reach but surpass the target of $... billion a year.

As Mr. Oswald Ryan, Vice Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board said in a recent talk: "Transportation in this country will never fulfill its destiny until it achieves mass transportation by air and that time has not yet arrived... This new transportation must be made available to all people if it is to fulfill its appointed destiny."

Three strong spotlights on the global economy....

THE US AND WORLD MARKETS
By Charles Sawyer *Page 51*

SUGAR CAN HELP WORLD STABILITY
By Carlos Prio Socarras *Page 54*

PITFALLS OF POINT FOUR
By Kurt Weil *Page 57*

CORRECTION

The article, "Office Equipment International" in our July issue mentioned the extensive use of International Business Machines Corporation equipment for social security records, and an equipment rental cost of $1,000,000 *per month*. This was in error, and the correct estimate of the rental cost for this equipment is about $1,000,000 *per year*.

Wings Over the World

Basic facts on some of the world's major airlines

K.L.M. The world's oldest airline, Royal Dutch Airlines, known less regally as K.L.M., was founded in 1919 simultaneously with the formation of IATA. The airline's original president, Dr. Albert Plesman, today supervises K.L.M.'s operations over 75,000 miles of air routes, including five trans-Atlantic flights and its East Indies Division.

Dr. Plesman's tenure of office, unique in the history of civil aviation, spans three decades marked by (1) K.L.M.'s first flight in 1920 from London to Amsterdam; (2) its inauguration in 1929 of the world's longest air route—the 9,000 miles from Amsterdam to Batavia; (3) and in 1940, (at the time of the German invasion), K.L.M.'s sudden removal of operations to Lydda in Palestine. During the war the Royal Dutch Airlines, under Dr. Plesman's direction, maintained its service between Lydda and the Far East, as well as its West Indies network. K.L.M.'s East Indies Division continued operations until the time of the Japanese invasion of the Netherlands East Indies.

In the period since 1919 the company's fleet of planes has grown from a single De Havilland DH-92-Aireo to a current complement which includes more than 100 modern aircraft: Constellations, DC-6's, DC-3's, DC-4's, Convairs and one Catalina Flying Boat.

Most important expansion in Royal Dutch has been in the number of employees, from the original 12 in 1919 to 14,000 today. This roster includes its 400 pilots, drawn from 12 different nationalities, who take K.L.M.'s 1700 daily passengers to major cities throughout the world. In 1921, the year in which it opened the world's first air transport booking office in Amsterdam, the K.L.M. passenger total—1799—was very little more than its current daily quota.

AIR FRANCE During the war Americans used to insist that Paris would never regain its fashion supremacy. But Paris originals are today being flown to the United States in a steady stream in the freight holds of Air France's 749 Constellations.

Besides its passenger service—serving 128 cities—Air France flies freight routes that reach 70 countries and colonies on five continents. It brings rare orchids from Africa to be worn in New York while they are still fresh. It takes in exchange American motion pictures, magazines and phonograph records for dwellers in Europe, Africa and Asia. A major portion of its trans-Atlantic air freight is made up of French-manufactured items: the exquisite textiles, the creations of *haute couture*, the lingerie, millinery, perfume, gloves and jewelry for which Paris has always claimed preeminence. Today these fast-flown exports spell dollars for the rebuilding of France's economy.

Air France recently put into passenger service between New York and Paris a luxuriously outfitted Constellation Comet decorated in rose-beige and chartreuse. Carrying 44 passengers, it is the first of nine such airliners with sleeping accommodations to be scheduled for trans-Atlantic flights. The sleeper plane's berths are 6½ feet long and as wide as three-quarter beds. It has an air-cooling system, radiant-wall heating, section walls that float on rubber mounts to reduce vibration, and other innovations of aircraft engineering. The nine new Constellations will be part of a trans-ocean fleet that, since February, 1946, has flown nearly a billion passenger miles.

SABENA The Societe Anonyme Belge D'Exploitation de la Navigation Aerienne, Sabena's proper title, prides itself on offering the fastest service not only between New York and Brussels—home of the Belgian Air Lines (another name for Sabena)—but also between New York and such other European cities as Milan, Rome, Frankfurt and Geneva.

One of the world's oldest air carriers, Sabena was established in 1923 as an offshoot of a predecessor company organized by royal proclamation of King Albert in 1919. Private shareholders direct the airlines' operations, elect the board of directors and own half of the stock, while the Governments of Belgium and the Congo own the other half. Although the Belgian Government retains a power of veto through a committee representing its investment, it has not exercised this right in the 25 years of Sabena's existence.

Sabena schedules 234 flights a week over more than 35,000 miles, across the North Atlantic, to most of Europe's capitals, to Israel, through Africa to the Belgian Congo and the Union of South Africa. It employs the Douglas DC-6 airliners overseas and the new short-haul Convair Liners in Europe. Cruising speed for both types is about 300 miles an hour.

PAN AMERICAN Airflight history was made by Pan American World Airways in 1927 with the inauguration of the first scheduled overseas airline under the American flag, operating between Key West and Havana, Cuba.

In its subsequent 22 years of airline operation, Pan American has established other "firsts" including the first trans-ocean service across the Pacific in 1935, the first trans-Atlantic service in 1939 and the first single-carrier, round-the-world service in 1947.

The original 90-mile air route established by Pan American between Key West and Havana has been extended to a system connecting the United States with every continent, including 64 countries and colonies, throughout the world. Today Pan American scheduled flights extend over the world's greatest

Airlines *continued*

route mileage—67,374 miles. Its fleet of airplanes total 152 multi-engined aircraft, including more than 10 of the new double-deck Boeing Strato-cruisers. An eager Magellan can now, by flying regular Pan American schedules—part way even by sleeper—circumnavigate the earth in 147 hours and 15 minutes flying time.

In 1929 Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, technical adviser of Pan American Airways, first flew US airmail to South America over the 2,000-mile Central American route to Cuba, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and the Canal Zone. Again that year, Lindbergh surveyed and extended the West Indian route by way of the Leeward and Windward Islands and Trinidad and 1250 miles farther—to British and Dutch Guiana on the South American mainland. During the same year, 1929, Pan American organized the first complete weather service for aviation and became the first US airline to employ instrument flying in regular airline operations, and the first to use flight mechanics. A partnership was also established that year, upon consumation of a deal with the Grace Steamship interests, for an air service known as Pan American-Grace airways (see below), to operate from Panama down the West Coast of South America to Santiago, Chile, and over the Andes to Buenos Aires.

During World War II the Army assigned Pan American to set up the longest and fastest large-scale air transport route in history, the 11,500-mile Cannonball run from Miami to India. To accomplish this job, Pan American set up a new division, known as Africa-Orient, which opened its service with a mass flight of five four-engined landplanes across the South Atlantic in November, 1942. This same division pioneered in breaking in the C-54 Skymaster which later became the workhorse plane of the Army's Air Transport Command.

PANAGRA

Pan American-Grace Airways, otherwise known as Panagra, is 21 years old this month. Its initial flight was 600 miles from Lima, to Talara, Peru, pioneering air transportation on the west coast of South America. From this humble beginning Panagra has grown into a network of more than 9,000 miles of routes linking the United States with Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Argentina.

The airline is owned jointly by Pan American Airways and W. R. Grace & Co., the North-South American steamship line. Its president is Andrew B. Shea.

When Panagra delivered the first US mail in Buenos Aires in 1929, it carried American aviation thousands of miles farther than it had ever been before. Less than a year after inception it was serving the capitals of Peru, Chile and Argentina with a direct, regularly scheduled passenger, mail and cargo service to the United States.

In developing air transportation where none previously existed, Panagra had to construct airports, install radio and meteorological facilities, arrange operating concessions and contracts with South American governments. In many places, where hotel facilities were lacking, it built its own guest houses. It surveyed new routes, helped solve technical problems of high altitude flying. Panagra links the active industrial, agricultural and mineral-rich areas of South America with the key trading and manufacturing centers of both North and South America. It has flown more than 743,970,000 passenger miles, carried 808,205 passengers and more than 12,000 tons of cargo. In 1929, by air and steamship, the trip from Miami to Buenos Aires required 11 days. Today Panagra's 300-mile-an-hour, 52-passenger Douglas DC-6 planes with sleeper accommodations, make the journey in just under 22 hours.

AEROPOSTAL VENEZOLANA

Venezuela's national airline, Linea Aeropostal Venezolana, has been operating as a full-fledged international air carrier since 1946 and now maintains the fastest, most direct route connecting New York, Havana and Caracas.

Prior to its expansion beyond national boundaries, the Venezuelan Airline operated a network of routes covering Venezuela and these now include flights connecting that country with Trinidad, B.W.I. and Aruba, N.W.I. Established 20 years ago, the Venezuelan Airline has grown consistently. It features Constellation planes on its New York-Havana-Caracas run.

TWA

Trans World Airline, officially known as Transcontinental & Western Air, Inc., takes national precedence as the oldest transcontinental airline in the US and was responsible for the first large, privately-financed aviation venture—scheduled flights across the country.

TWA, as the airline is popularly known, grew out of four parent companies which were absorbed, by 1929, from their original titles of Western Air Express, Aero Corporation of California, the Maddux Air Lines and Transcontinental Air Transport. Today Trans World planes fly over 32,000 route miles from California to India, serve 70 cities, 14 countries and four continents half-way around the world.

In 1929, TWA's transcontinental flying time was 48 hours, coast to coast, a distance which is now covered in 11 hours by the same airline. Research by TWA on high altitude flying resulted in the inauguration of flight engineers on four-engine equipment, first on TWA ships and subsequently on all airlines. Development of the de-icer now used on all planes was the result of the combined efforts of TWA and the Goodrich Rubber Co.

Trans World now operates a fleet of 123 airplanes, with 20 Constellations on order for next year, upon receipt of which TWA will have the largest standard fleet of four-engine aircraft in the world.

Next year, during Holy Year ceremonies in Rome (see page 16), TWA expects to be the only US carrier providing direct service to Rome.

UNITED AIR LINES

In 1926 the US Post Office turned its air mail operations over to private contractors on the basis of lowest competitive bids. Four of these private operators subsequently combined to form United Air Lines, which in the last 22 years has flown 10 million passengers a grand total of 5 billion passenger miles.

Today, United serves 80 cities in 22 states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and British Colombia. Its 10,700 mile system extends from coast to coast, along the Pacific coast, and across the Pacific to Honolulu. Its 142 luxurious Mainliner 300's (DC-6's) make the hop from coast to coast in a little more than nine hours.

The first trans-continental air passengers took their seats gingerly in the Boeing 70 single-engined biplanes. Most of them were on life-and-death missions. Unable to move in their cramped quarters, finding "comfort" only in the passing of the miles, these hardy travelers paid $400 for the 32 hour trip from coast to coast, with 14 stops for refueling. The planes, not yet equipped with radio, flew in sight of the ground, with the pilot in an open cockpit to the rear.

Since those days United has pioneered many "firsts" to promote increased safety, efficiency and passenger comfort.

Airline stewardess service started in 1930 as an experiment over the San Francisco-Chicago route. The idea was "sold"

to company officials by Ellen Church, a registered nurse, who became the world's first stewardess.

Early airline passengers were lucky to get a sandwich, an apple and a cup of coffee at mealtime aloft. In 1936, United established the first of its 14 ground kitchens where meals are prepared and supplied to planes.

In 1933 United introduced to its airways the Boeing 247, first all-metal, twin engined transport. These 10-passenger planes, forerunners of today's luxury airliners, reduced coast-to-coast flying to 19½ hours. Four years later came the Mainliner 180's (DC-3's), with automatic pilots, air-conditioning, and kitchenettes, making the hop in 16 hours. In 1946 the Mainliner 230's joined the fleet, and the next year the Mainliner 300's (DC-6) with pressurized cabins able to fly at smooth, high-altitude levels.

United now has on order seven double-decked, 55-passenger Boeing Stratocruisers, which will travel at 350 mph. They are expected to be in service by the end of 1949.

SWISSAIR

The first flight to the United States by a Swissair plane was made on May 2, 1947. Since that date the Swiss Air Transport Company, Ltd.,—as Swissair is officially known—has increased its trans-Atlantic schedule to six flights a week. Even before Geneva and Zurich became the terminals of Swissair's trans-Atlantic service, these cities, along with Basle and Berne, were the gateways linking Switzerland with the major cities in Europe via one of Europe's oldest airlines.

Swissair, the only Swiss carrier engaged in international air transport, was formed in 1931 by the amalgamation of Ad Astra Aero Co., Ltd., Zurich, and the Balair Air Traffic Co., Ltd., Basle. As early as 1927 "Balair" had opened the first Swiss long-distance route, Basle-Brussels-Rotterdam and Amsterdam, and in 1931 its successor, Swissair, began flying the routes: Geneva-Zurich-Nurnberg, Basle-Brussels-Rotterdam-Amsterdam, Zurich-Berlin, Geneva-Vienna, Zurich-Basle-Paris, Lausanne-Geneva-Paris.

Swissair set an example for other European countries in 1932 by acquiring two speedy American Lockheed Orion aircraft. Between 1935 and 1939, Swissair replaced its entire fleet with American planes.

During June of this year Swissair planes covered 571,802 miles in 3,026 flight hours, making a daily average of 19,060 air miles. In the decade since 1939, when its personnel numbered 179, Swissair has increased its operations to include more than 1600 employees.

PHILIPPINE AIR LINES

Philippine Air Lines, established in 1932, was destroyed during World War II. Reborn, it now offers DC-6 service to the Orient, India and Europe.

Since it started again from scratch, with eight planes and 32 employees, in February, 1946, PAL has expanded its passenger and cargo operations until today it has a fleet of 50 planes and more than 1500 employees.

In 1932, Philippine Air Lines, Inc., was primarily concerned with supplying service to outlying, hard-to-reach communities and industries in the Philippines. Today PAL is the flag carrier of the Republic of the Philippines and the only air carrier of mail from Manila to San Francisco. Trans-Pacific passenger service between San Francisco and Manila is on Douglas DC-6 planes with only three stops en route.

PAL's Far East service reaches most important points in the Orient and Australia, including Hong Kong, Okinawa, Tokyo, Batavia, Darwin and Sydney. Its domestic flights provide hourly service on more than 40 planes which fly to every important city and province in the Philippine Archipelago. Regular PAL tours from Manila to Europe and return include stop-over privileges in eight countries: India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Italy, Spain, England and the Netherlands. Connecting airlines offer rapid travel facilities to India, the Near East, Africa and Europe.

Exclusive of those within the Islands, PAL routes now link five continents and total almost 25,000 miles. In prospect are the establishment of a route to Australia and expansion from the Far East through the East Indies and the Malayan peninsula.

EASTERN

In 1928 eight tiny Pitcairn Mailwing PA-5 airplanes carrying air mail to seven US cities over a 792-mile route composed the infant air-buggy organization which has since grown to be one of the "Big Four" of US domestic commercial airlines, operating under the aegis of Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker.

Eastern Airlines, originally Pitcairn Aviation, Inc., commenced its airflight operations with a four-year government contract to fly mail between New York and Atlanta, with Hadley Field, New Brunswick, N. J., as the northern terminus of the route. Mail capacity on the small planes was 350 pounds, and the 200-horsepower Wright engine supplied a top cruising speed of only 90 miles an hour.

In 1929 Harold F. Pitcairn sold out his airline assets to C. M. Keys of North American Aviation, Inc., and six months later, in 1930, the former Pitcairn corporation emerged from a new transformation as Eastern Air Transport, Inc. By the time of its second anniversary the new company had grown to cover 16 cities with routes totalling 1,572 miles and a mail poundage which had increased 800 per cent. During that same year, 1930, passenger service was begun with Ford tri-motor planes between New York (North Beach, Long Island) and Richmond with stops at Newark and Camden, N. J., Baltimore, and Washington.

In subsequent years Eastern Air Transport, along with the rest of the rapidly growing aviation industry, underwent a number of changes. In 1934 Eastern Air Lines was formed as a new company which became the operation division of North American Aviation, Inc., owned by General Motors, which rented its equipment from the old Eastern Air Transport. Out of its contract negotiations at that time, Eastern Air Lines obtained a New York-New Orleans route via Atlanta which is the nucleus of Eastern Air Lines' present route network linking 87 cities in 25 states, San Juan, Puerto Rico, and certificated to Mexico City, Mexico.

Captain Rickenbacker, World War I ace, became general manager of Eastern Air Lines in 1935 and in 1938 with a group of associates bought the company. At that time its name was altered slightly to Eastern Air Lines, Inc.

At the end of its first decade, Eastern Air Lines, Inc., had 1,032 employees, operated over 4,518 route miles, scheduled 34 daily flights and owned 22 airplanes. Two years later, in the summer of 1947, a new era in the company's history began with delivery of 14 New-Type Constellations. On February 5, 1949, the Air Lines' fifteenth New-Type Constellation broke the transcontinental record by flying from Burbank to La-Guardia Field, New York, in 7 hours, 17 minutes and 39 seconds.

BOAC

British civil aviation began in August, 1919, with the flight of a Handley-Page from London to Paris with three paying passengers. Today, British Overseas Airways Corporation and its associated companies—British European Airways and British South American Airways—form a great

Airlines *continued*

air transport system reaching all continents and over 70 principal cities in 40 countries. It offers round-the-world trips via the mid-Pacific or via Australasia; and regular service from New York to London, Cairo, Khartoum, Johannesburg, Karachi, Calcutta, Singapore, Rangoon, Sydney—or to Bermuda.

The combined British fleet consist of Constellations, Solent flying boats, Argonauts, Yorks, and Lancastrians (the last as freighters.) In September first delivery will be made on 10 Boeing Stratocruisers, 25 Hermes, and 15 Tudor IV freighters. On order also are 14 jet aircraft—De Havilland Comets—and 25 Bristol 175s.

The jet-propelled Comets are expected to be put into operation in 1952-53. Their speed should cut in half the present flying time on a number of BOAC's principal routes.

British Overseas' Chairman is Sir Miles Thomas, who gained wartime fame as the production genius of the Nuffield factories. Shortly after the first flight of the Ghost-engined Comet, Sir Miles called for a report from his technical experts on the operational and economical possibilities of a six-jet flying boat capable of carrying 50 or 60 passengers across the Atlantic or on the Commonwealth routes, at a speed of 400 mph. In so doing he reaffirmed his faith both in the flying boat and in jet aircraft for passenger and air service.

Air transport, consisting of three lines, was the first industry to be nationalized by the present government of the United Kingdom—in 1946. The three were combined into a single corporation under the Airway Corporation Act of 1949, to which the King gave his assent on July 30.

CANADIAN PACIFIC

Canadian Pacific Airlines came into being as a regular scheduled air carrier during the war in 1942 when the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had been given a government charter to operate air service as early as 1919, purchased and consolidated 10 small airlines in Canada.

In 1940 the British Ministry of Supply had asked Canadian Pacific to establish a plane ferrying service across the Atlantic. The first mass delivery of twin-engined bombers successfully flew the Atlantic, arriving in England November 11, 1941. The flights continued for a year, until the flow of US built aircraft became too great for a private organization to handle, and the Royal Air Force Ferry Command took over.

In addition to this pioneer trans-Atlantic ferry job, Canadian Pacific had operated through the war years six Air Observer Schools, an elementary flight training school, and three repair depots. All this was part of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, which graduated thousands of crewmen into the Allied Air Forces.

One of the companies purchased in 1942 by Canadian Pacific was the Yukon and Southern, whose young president, Grant W. G. McConachie, had pioneered the air route from Edmonton to Alaska. Rough fields hacked out of the bush by this struggling company were enlarged and equipped with radio facilities and played a part in the building of the Alaska Highway. Today, as president of Canadian Pacific Air Lines, Mr. McConachie has a fleet of more than 60 planes, ranging from giant four-engined Canadair 4's through DC-3's to smaller float-equipped aircraft suitable for northern "bush flying."

In Canada alone, the airline now operates 9,770 miles of routes. Across-Pacific flights started in July, 1949, with bi-monthly service to Australia from Vancouver. In September, regular service will be opened from Vancouver to Hong Kong.

AMERICAN

Overseas Airlines, founded by American Export Lines and first known as American Export Airlines, inaugurated in 1942 the first trans-Atlantic non-stop service from the US to Europe.

During the war, the airline operated fleets of four-engine flying boats and landplanes across the North and South Atlantic between the US, Europe, Africa and South America for the Naval Air Ttransport Service, and the Air Transport Command.

Control of American Export Airlines by American Airlines, Inc., in 1945, resulted in the CAB grant of permanent North Atlantic routes to the airline, including service from New York, Washington, and Boston via Newfoundland, Iceland, and Ireland, to the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Poland and Russia.

The transition from flying boats to landplanes in 1945 marked the beginning of the first landplane service to Europe—between New York and London via Gander and Shannon. By the end of 1945, service had been extended to Washington and Philadelphia, and daily service between the US and Europe had been instituted.

The following year, 1946, AOA inaugurated direct services to Copenhagen, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, and Berlin, and in 1947 AOA took its place as one of the leading trans-Atlantic carriers, with a total volume of 63,620 revenue passengers, an increase of 82 percent over the preceding year. Route mileage flown by AOA is now 13,607.

Recently American Overseas Airlines, as part of the Berlin Air Lift, was the only US airline providing scheduled service between Western Germany and Berlin.

SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES

Thirty years ago a group of far-sighted representatives of a nascent European aviation industry gathered for a conference at The Hague. Out of the three-day session, the International Air Transport Association was born. Of the five companies, three were Scandinavian, the other two English and German.

Thus, from the very birth of air transportation, the Scandinavian air carriers have been in the vanguard of efforts toward international co-operation.

With such a heritage, it is not surprising that after World War II the airlines of Denmark, Norway and Sweden decided to pool their assets to create a Scandinavian Airlines System to fly routes to North and South America and the Near East.

SAS, as it is familiarly called, is unique among the airlines of the world—a "United Nations of the Air." Its official language is English, but its personnel is divided as evenly as possible among Danish, Norwegian and Swedish nationals. In August, 1946, when the final agreement for overseas operation under a single name was reached, every effort was made to stamp out national favoritism, even though for fiscal purposes the Danish and Norwegian airlines each control two-sevenths and the Swedish three-sevenths of the System.

Scandinavian Airlines offers a prime example of the success of international co-operation in the air. In 1948 it carried more passengers back and forth across the Atlantic than any other non-American line. The company operates the latest type of American-made aircraft, and since the summer of 1948 has been flying DC-6's on all its long-range routes.

The big Viking ships, emblazoned with the cross, crown and colors of the three Scandinavian nations, fly to 27 countries on five continents. A giant painted dragon runs the length of the aircraft, reminding the traveler of the famous ships of the Norsemen, the first great sea-faring race. Heritors of the Vikings, these great planes today wing their course over the tropical jungles of South America, the barren plains of the Near East, the African desert—or the towers of Manhattan.

The U. S. and the World Market

By CHARLES SAWYER
U.S. Secretary of Commerce

TRADE problems can seldom be isolated.

Ten years ago western Europe was the industrial workshop of the world and the nerve center of world trade. The war crippled the production of Europe and all but destroyed the complicated institutions that made international business possible. Even before the war, a world-wide depression had broken down many of the older trading relationships upon which the international trade of Europe was based.

A generation ago, mechanisms for exchanging one currency for another by means of the buying and selling of currencies in the great banking centers of the world were considered to be almost sacred. When the movements of trade resulted in an unfavorable or adverse balance against any one nation, that nation accepted its fate as an inevitable result of the "laws" of economics. Even when a nation's industries were stricken by depression and its people were hungry, it generally did not resort to the present drastic methods of "managing" its trade relations with other countries.

Today most governments in the world believe that the well-being of their people is to a large extent the responsibility of the government. Many governments impose elaborate controls on production, consumption, and price within their own boundaries, and equally elaborate controls over the goods that enter or leave their countries.

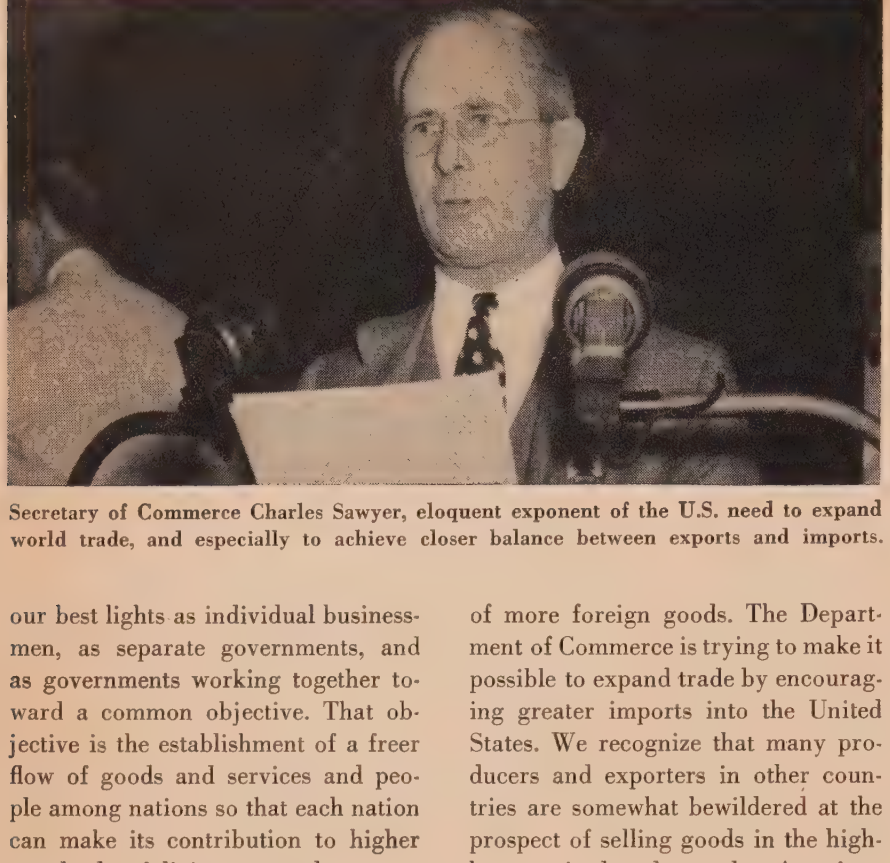
Controls are placed on the conversion of currencies into other currencies, on the amounts of certain commodities that may be imported and exported. Few countries in the world today are sufficiently confident of the stability of their own money to permit their people to spend freely for goods that are imported. The old clearing systems for effecting payments between countries were managed by private banks. Today international payments are strictly controlled by governments in most parts of the world. In Europe there has been set up a complicated network of bilateral trade agreements. Many pairs of countries have agreed to sell to each other only as much as they buy. Such an arrangement means that businessmen must wait for the consent of their governments and the governments of other countries before they can transact business. During the past year some progress has been made in setting up a clearing system which will make easier the settlement of accounts between European countries, but the system has not yet been in existence long enough to determine its value as a long-range procedure.

The United States has found it necessary to maintain controls on goods leaving the country. Until March of last year, our postwar export controls were used chiefly for the purpose of limiting the amount of certain critically important goods that were shipped out of the country. In March 1948, we announced that our export controls would also be used as an instrument of national policy.

It was decided to place certain restrictions upon the export of materials to the Iron Curtain countries. No rigid formula was adopted and the procedure is still flexible. We are, however, utilizing export control to implement our foreign policy. Occasionally, the considerations of foreign policy conflict with international trade. This is evidenced in connection with the problem of so-called "East-West trade." It is clear that so far as possible we should, and we wish to, permit the free flow of trade between all parts of Europe and between all parts of Europe and the United States.

Of course, East-West trade continues. Coal is being shipped to Western Europe from Poland, lumber and pulp from Finland, grain and minerals from the Balkans and Soviet Russia. Western Europe is shipping a wide range of consumer and capital goods to Eastern Europe. If improvement in the relations between Eastern and Western Europe takes place, we can look for a larger volume of trade to the benefit of both the East and the West.

What can we do to work out solutions or partial solutions to these problems? We must start with the realization that there is no simple solution. We must proceed according to



Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer, eloquent exponent of the U.S. need to expand world trade, and especially to achieve closer balance between exports and imports.

our best lights as individual businessmen, as separate governments, and as governments working together toward a common objective. That objective is the establishment of a freer flow of goods and services and people among nations so that each nation can make its contribution to higher standards of living everywhere.

The first practical step is to give our support to the international institutions which have been created or planned as special agencies of the United Nations. Through the International Monetary Fund we can work toward a freer convertibility and stabilization of currencies. Through the International Bank, we can work toward a freer flow of investment capital between countries. Through the proposed International Trade Organization, member nations can discuss ways and means of reducing such barriers to trade as quota restrictions and other discriminatory regulations aimed at the trade of certain nations. Through this same Organization we can reach international agreements for the stabilization of supplies and prices of commodities such as wheat, and carry on and expand the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program.

Only the most credulous and naïve believe that these institutions will provide us with all the answers.

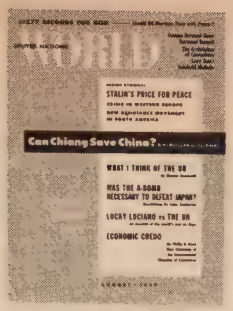
There are other ways to work toward the building of a more stable and more prosperous world trade. Countries that export more than they import can encourage the importation of more foreign goods. The Department of Commerce is trying to make it possible to expand trade by encouraging greater imports into the United States. We recognize that many producers and exporters in other countries are somewhat bewildered at the prospect of selling goods in the highly organized and complex American market. We have tried through our Foreign Service to inform the businessmen of other countries as to the most effective ways of selling here.

We are attempting to balance our accounts with other nations in another way—by encouraging Americans to spend dollars in other countries on travel. The amount of money spent by Americans on foreign travel has increased each year since the end of the war. Last year Americans spent 675 million dollars on foreign travel, exclusive of fares on American ships and planes. This year the amount will be considerably larger, owing to increased passenger facilities on trans-Atlantic ships.

We must also recognize that certain nations in the world are creditors by virtue of their good fortune as well as their sound institutions and their economic energy. The creditor nations must act like good creditors. They must do what they can to help the less highly developed nations grow stronger. I can perhaps be permitted to say that the United States has tried to act like a good creditor. We have faced the fact that the world is suffering from an acute shortage of dollars. Realizing that the countries of Western Europe, which were once the most powerful centers of economic activity in the world, needed dollars to finance a genuine recovery, we have authorized grants and loans to those countries in the last year and a half totaling well over 10 billion dollars. Through the device of "off-shore purchasing" some of those dollars have been made available to many other countries in both hemispheres.

President Truman believes that economically powerful nations should assist other nations to improve their standards of living. He believes that a program of world development should be many-sided. It should be not merely an American program, but one in which other economically strong nations will join with the United States to create stronger economies everywhere. As Secretary of Commerce in the Government of the United States, I am particularly interested in creating and maintaining conditions at home and abroad under which American businessmen will discover new opportunities for the investment of capital in other countries. Such investment will serve the purposes of the President's program as it contributes to the growth of industries that will raise the levels of living in under-developed countries. The United States has no intention of trying to dominate or influence other countries where American capital is invested. At the same time, if those countries are to obtain the technical assistance and the capital they need, it is important that they do their part in establishing the kind of atmosphere that will attract private American capital. A good start has already been made. In the months ahead I hope for further progress.

Basic economic development in various parts of the world is not the same as trade, yet the two are closely related. We in the United States know that our best customers are the most highly developed nations. We know, too, that the best markets abroad as well as the best markets in our own country exist where purchasing power is highest.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SUGAR
Can Help World Stability

By Dr. CARLOS PRIO SOCARRAS

President of Cuba

IN the field of human relationships, the forward sweep of the industrial revolution was the outstanding fact of the 19th century.

Similarly, the outstanding fact of the 20th century will be the integration of the different national economies into a universal economic system. It is my firm belief that to promote this objective should be a chief goal of every statesman, every public leader and every responsible citizen throughout the democratic world. As Cuba's Chief Executive, I have pledged my country's and my own determination to further this goal in the proportion in which our participation in world affairs should demand it.

At first glance, it would seem that the destruction, dislocations, and economic prejudices brought about by the two world wars of this century, have hampered the development of this universal economic unity. On close scrutiny, however, I believe we would find that the final act in this drama will closely resemble the final outcome of the Crusades, when the social and economic forces which clashed so fiercely during the armed conflict came together. Out of the bitter turmoil of the six great wars which Christendom fought against the Moslem world in the middle ages, there emerged a reciprocal knowledge and a growing commercial and intellectual intercourse between East and West. So today, the very forces which unleashed our contemporary Armageddons, and provoked an immediate stiffening of material and spiritual barriers separating the modern nations, are surely working to bring about a final understanding at every level of life and thought — notably in the realm of economic co-operation.

If our civilization is to survive we must liquidate in an orderly, equitable and free process the furious nationalisms, the fanatical sectarianisms fostered by the recent conflicts, and the gaping economic inequalities which they created or accentuated. Our western world is overwhelmingly anti-Communist. But there is at this moment no alert, responsible individual in the democratic community who is not aware that we have to meet the challenge of the Marxist interpretation of the fundamental problem of our times. That problem consists in bringing about a just distribution of the wealth created by the common effort of civilized man.

Unless we meet that challenge, and particularly unless we disprove the first and fundamental tenet of communism which holds that recurrent industrial crises are one of the ines-

AT NATAL, South Africa, an American tractor pulls two-and-a-half ton cane trucks out of the fields.

ON PANAY Island in the Philippines, sugar is loaded on board a steamer for export to the United States.

capable contradictions of the so-called capitalist system, we shall not be able to surmount the biggest menace to our way of life. This is not generated so much from without as from within our economic and social frontiers. Nor does it rely so much upon force of arms as upon the forces of spiritual and material disintegration. We must be able not only to stop hostile armies on the Elbe or the Rhine, but effectively to stop and eliminate depressions before they have time to bring about a catastrophic collapse of our people's confidence in freedom.

This action cannot now be fought singly within national boundaries. Economic isolation is today recognized as an illusion as dangerous and as preposterous as political isolation. Statesmen and peoples alike have recognized both facts, and have made serious efforts to translate their convictions into action on the political and even on the military level. They have made efforts to carry that action through to its logical economic conclusion—the establishment of effective international agreements to stimulate trade and promote and protect adequate standards of living among all the nations of the western bloc. In this they have stumbled upon the obstacles created by the unwillingness of favored groups to surrender some of their advantages to the crying necessity for general stability and equitable social balance throughout "Our World."

If Western leaders require a sharp reminder of how pressing this necessity is, they should look at the tremendous tragedy that has befallen China. Its repercussions have shaken the security of the Western World. It is primarily the Chinese standard of living which has brought the Communist armies in a triumphal march across the length of that unhappy land. How tragic would be our responsibility before history, if we should fail to learn the lesson from this scorching fact, and to utilize that lesson for the salvation of our spiritual and material heritage!

An inadequate standard of living is really, therefore, our first enemy —I should say almost our only enemy. The one way to beat it is by international trade agreements which recognize and protect the interests of producers and consumers in every country within the democratic community. By this means, we minimize economic inequalities and build just and stable standards of living for all of our peoples. Such agreements in the long run will lower costs as each country or region strives to develop all its natural resources and industrial potentials and seeks to produce those items which it can offer in the international market at a greater advantage to consumers.

The International Wheat Agreement, signed a few months ago in Washington, marks a significant milestone on that road of international economic co-operation. It is based on the triple premise that (1) large surpluses in any given commodity are ruinous to the producers; (2) that they menace the stability of the national economy; (3) that they endanger the economies of all other members of the world economic community. When a surplus of wheat burdens the American farmer, he will consume less Cuban sugar. When a surplus of sugar burdens the Cuban planter and reduces the wages of the Cuban mill-hand, they will eat less bread made with American wheat —and buy less clothes made from American cotton, to say nothing of radios or other products of American industry.

My Government has been inspired by the example of the International Wheat Agreement, by our own outstanding record in pioneering world co-operation on sugar in the pre-war years, and by the broad principles of international co-operation and inter-dependence which I have stressed in this article, to take the initiative in establishing a new International Sugar Agreement.

We do not now anticipate any surplus of sugar of a magnitude that might seriously impair the price-structure in the immediate future. But we do believe in the necessity of preventing a recurrence of the disastrous drop in prices which occurred shortly after the termination of World War I, not only for Cuba and the sugar-producing countries, but for the benefit of world economy and world stability.

During that conflict, in order to satisfy Allied demands for Cuban sugar throughout the tragic period of the German U-boat offensive, Cuba expanded production to twice

Sugar Can Help World Stability *continued*

its pre-war capacity, only to see her economy come crashing down upon her people when that war ended. The recent conflict led to similar results. The United States clamored not only for every ounce of sugar that we could supply, but also for the molasses and the alcohol—by-products of the sugar industry—which were vital for the manufacture of war material. In both cases, Cuba undertook to sacrifice the opportunity of legitimate profits. It agreed to sell its sugar and by-products to its great ally and good neighbor at far less than the prevailing world prices.

The machinery established by the Allied Governments to cope with the emergency, and the continued cooperation of the American and the Cuban Governments in this field, have up to the present prevented any sudden and serious drop in prices. But we must frankly face the prospect of a general sugar deflation. Supplies are now larger than at any other time since the outbreak of World War II. Total production of sugar, despite slow recovery of producing areas in the Far East, mainly the Dutch East Indies, is estimated at close to 34.3 million metric tons for this year. This surpasses the 1935-1939 pre-war average of 31,489,000 tons. So far the increased world production of sugar has been absorbed. It is obvious however that the rehabilitation of producing areas in Europe and the Far East may create a surplus which would press adversely upon the economies of all the sugar producing nations and eventually upon the economy of every nation of the democratic community. The situation is further complicated by the dislocation of the monetary systems of almost all the nations of the world—forcing those outside the dollar-area into exchange restrictions, rationing and other measures. These are bound to affect their purchases of sugar from our area, unless special measures are adopted to maintain an active international sugar market in those places which suffer from a dollar shortage.

President Carlos Prio Socarras of Cuba, outstanding authority on world economics, is warmly welcomed by President Truman during a recent visit to the United States.

All these factors combine to call for the rapid negotiation and ratification of a new international sugar agreement that may (a) guarantee an adequate supply of sugar to the consuming countries, (b) increase the consumption of raw and refined sugar in the world, (c) maintain and develop the purchasing power of the countries whose economies are dependent on sugar production, (d) permanently stabilize the price of sugar at levels which are remunerative to producers. An expanding production would then encourage increasing consumption, without increasing the burden to consumers.

Stability of the sugar market could not be reached today through a policy of laissez-faire if surpluses developed in some major producing countries. History shows that unilateral national efforts had only limited success. On the other hand, international collaboration in the past had some stabilizing effects on the world sugar market. The Sugar Agreement of 1937 and the establishment of the International Sugar Council to administer it, marked an important step toward stabilization. This pact was signed by consuming nations representing eighty percent of world consumption and by producing countries responsible for ninety percent of world production.

These, then, are the considerations, political, social, economic, and even spiritual, which have prompted the Cuban Government to initiate negotiations for a new International Sugar Agreement. These factors stand clearly as writing on the wall, for all those who have eyes to see what is happening around us. I sincerely hope that the evidence presented not only by our Government, but also by the fateful trend of human events in this momentous hour, will persuade the leaders and the peoples of the democratic community to follow our initiative as a necessary step toward economic integration. For such, indeed, is the only road open before us for the salvation of our democratic principles, of our way of life.

American "know-how" and scientific methods can harm, rather than help, underdeveloped areas

Pitfalls of Point Four

By KURT WEIL

New York consulting engineer and recognized specialist in industrial development

THE world's economy is today endangered by too lavish an imitation of American industrial techniques. Uncritical export of US "know-how," notably to Asia and South America, can thwart the drive to lift living standards as symbolized by President Truman's famous Point Four.

Whether in the future Truman's "bold new program" will be remembered with resentment or gratitude depends in large measure upon the care and intelligence with which American "scientific advances and industrial progress" are made available to the underdeveloped regions. Otherwise Point Four can damage rather than benefit the countries it is designed to help.

Many of the plans that have been drawn up in the past by American engineers and economists for large-scale developments in Asiatic and Latin American countries have failed because they turned out to be unrealistic. They called for wholesale transplanting of American technology to those countries without a sufficient grasp of local conditions, and for too rapid progress toward mechanization in areas where tradition made speedy change impossible.

Consider, for instance, the not entirely hypothetical case of a factory for producing metal parts in India. The cost has been estimated at 1½ millions of scarce dollars. The plant is a replica of the most modern production plants in the United States.

In the United States, where labor is expensive and scarce when compared to India, semi- and fully automatic tools and jigs are justified even though they require heavy investment. They more than pay off in what they save in labor costs. But in India, labor is cheap and plentiful and there is, furthermore, urgent need to provide the people with more jobs in industry.

Because it has to rely on perfect synchronization of complex machinery, the metal parts factory is seldom in full production and is frequently shut down for repairs. The skilled mechanics, and expert craftsmen available to keep plants of this kind running smoothly in the US, can hardly be found in all of India.

As a consequence, replacements have to be brought in too often by expensive air freight or by sea or rail. Delays are costly in terms of lost time. Slovenly maintenance itself contributes to the vicious circle by multiplying the number of breakdowns.

It is obvious that, short of importing American technicians, mechanics and tool-and-die craftsmen to fill key jobs indefinitely, this plant cannot help very much to raise living standards in India.

It is equally obvious that the fault is to be found in oversimplification rooted in too great an immersion in the American way of doing things. Because America, needing metal parts, got them most efficiently from such a plant, it was concluded that India would best get them in the same way. This "natural" conclusion was reached by ignoring all the pertinent differences between India and the US. It was in terms of industrial planning, the same kind of error as if, in geography, a map of Southeast Asia were mistaken for one of North America.

No such error was made in a program to increase Japanese food supplies by reducing the spoilage of fish. US experience might have suggested warehouses with electric deep-freeze plants, electrically refrigerated ships and railway freight cars, and deep-freeze units for shops and homes.

But Japan is not the United States. It lacks the wealth, the electrical power facilities and the industrial complex which could make such complicated refrigeration systems feasible. If a considerable part of Japan's fish catch were to be kept from being spoiled, a much less expensive system had to be found, one which would be unaffected by lack of electricity and ample iceplants.

To meet Japanese conditions, US engineers recommended a new application of an old principle: the "split absorption system." In this process the refrigeration equipment consists essentially of a tank of refrigerant such as ammonia gas under pressure; a coil in which the gas expands, thereby taking up heat and cooling the area around the coil; and a tank of water which absorbs the expended gas. The resulting *aqua ammonia* is drained and used as fertilizer, or

regenerated and re-used for refrigeration. The whole set-up has the advantages of simplicity, economy and ease of handling. There are no moving parts, no dependence on pressure or heat. In underdeveloped countries it is therefore superior to the electric-compressor method. Moreover it can be applied to freight cars on rails, to trucks, trailers and fishing boats.

Iran was less fortunate than Japan in the advice it got from another US engineering firm. The dual problem here was to conserve Iranian forests, badly depleted, and rejuvenate Iranian soil, undernourished and worked-out.

For centuries, the people of Iran have done their cooking over charcoal fires and manure. To save the wood hacked out of Iranian stands and to use the manure for fertilizer, the engineers recommended a change; and to achieve it, they drew up blueprints calling for a $70,000,000 pipeline, to provide cooking gas for seven cities with a total population of 1,230,000. On the assumption that these cities contained 215,000 customers, the project it was thought would show a substantial net profit.

THE trouble with the whole idea of the pipeline was that Iranians, like some Americans, are "from Missouri." They want to be shown why the methods of life that were good enough for their ancestors are not good enough for them. A big job of selling and of education would have to precede any such revolution in their way of doing things. Even then, many of their houses would not at present be safe for gas installations. In the face of such an unrealistic approach, the Iranian government refused to risk financial loss.

There is a perfectly sound solution for Iran which represents progress without the expensive pipeline. It consists of seeking out families who live in strong buildings and are able to afford gas. When enough such customers have been found and educated, they can be supplied with gas in tanks or bottles. Not until the demand for gas has progressed to a satisfactory point in a number of cities should the construction of a pipeline come up for consideration. This may take from 10 to 50 years.

Hundreds of such illustrations could be drawn. The point is that there is no easy, rule-of-thumb way of meeting the needs of an underdeveloped economy by copying methods that work in the US. Our own technology has resulted from attempts to adapt to our own conditions. What works for us is no universal panacea.

The technological standard of any area is only partly expressed in its industrial equipment. Other elements are (a) availability and geographical distribution of raw materials, power, labor, capital; (b) the existence of

THE AUTHOR

a supporting pyramid of "feeder industries"; (c) size, strength and stability of markets; (d) technical, administrative and managerial skills; (e) training and research facilities; (f) a certain technological tradition and attitude that for many Americans begins with the first Mecano set.

America's technological civilization grows out of 150 years in a vast, politically undivided territory. It had enormous resources. These were exploited by an aggressive, highly competitive system of free enterprise which itself had its origin in the type of immigrants who came to American shores, mainly from Europe. They brought with them a high degree of skill as artisans.

Unlike those of underdeveloped countries, US enterprises cater to a domestic market of 145 million customers with high purchasing power. That is one reason why the US can afford to transport raw materials and finished products over long distances in order to mass-produce them in centralized plants.

CHARACTERISTIC of the US economic system is the high "break-even" point in mass-production industries, due to the huge investment for tooling in order to save man-hours and high wages. When equipment designed for such conditions is installed in some underdeveloped country the result can be disastrous. Most of these countries can produce only for small and local markets. Their customers may have almost no money. A yearly income of less than $50 per capita is the over-all average in Asia. The problem facing an Asiatic government is more apt to be that of creating jobs than of saving wages. Likewise there almost certainly will be a shortage of skilled personnel to service, maintain and repair machinery in a complicated modern plant. Finally, the high investment and corresponding amortization and interest for this kind of equipment, while acceptable under US conditions, could be ruinous in a smaller or poorer country.

Most of the technically backward countries have old, high cultures. It would be folly to destroy them by trying to convert these civilizations into a poor replica of life in America. If we want to stabilize the world we cannot run the risk of transforming rural populations into an uprooted industrial proletariat. To do so would be to drive them into the arms of radicalism of one color or the other. It is far better to slow down industrial progress to a speed compatible with the ability of the people to learn new ways of work.

It is also better to give their young people vocational training at home rather than to send them abroad. Thus we can help to foster in every such area a new, indigenous form of industry which, however strange it may look to American eyes, will be a healthy blend of the local and the

Western traditions and material progress that can be transplanted.

THE rate of advance from that point may depend on the building of a technological tradition within the area. Many of us fail to understand how it is that America can constantly move to new achievements such as television, jet propulsion, atomic energy—and bring these swiftly to the mass production stage. The answer is that our children are born and reared among telephones, radios, automobiles, air planes, locomotives, tractors, electricity. They early learn to work with machines and gadgets of every sort, to think and speak the language of technical things.

IN this connection, vocabulary is sure to prove a stumbling block in underdeveloped areas. Often the local language will have no words for the products of our technology. Take the case of the American plane that made a forced landing in the Middle East, with a broken camshaft 400 miles from the next base. The pilot had to send his wire in Arabic. His message was necessarily so vague that the relief plane arrived with everything from crankcase to propeller—but without the necessary camshaft. The story illustrates the necessity of carefully creating a technical vocabulary, as for instance the Spaniards had to do when they introduced aviation in the 1920's.

In their understandable eagerness to develop their natural resources and to better their people's standard of living, governments of industrially backward countries, with American help, have drawn up four, five and seven year plans. Often such planning periods are far too short—particularly if grave political and social disturbances are to be avoided. Moreover, the total cost of such plans should be carefully assessed in relation to the present income of the people. In Egypt where the average per capita income is only $30, a plan calling for investment of 600 million dollars represents the equivalent of an investment of 800 *billion* dollars in the United States!

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everyman's UNITED NATIONS

Prepared by the UN Department of Public Information
With an introduction by TRYGVE LIE, Secretary General

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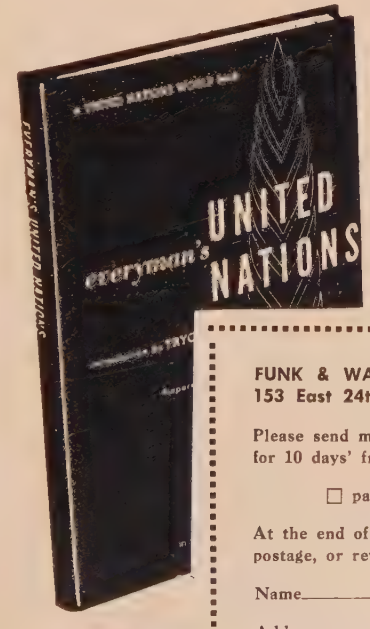

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Quest for Moral Anchorage

New values are being urgently sought from Berlin to Batavia, from Manhattan to Calcutta

The Inside Story Of An Outsider

by Franz Schoenberner. New York, The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

Now and again the sound of keening in the literary realm gives notice to the world that the art of the intimate essay is dead, flattened by a stampede of anecdotal actresses and neurotic journalists. This can hardly be contradicted. The essay form requires thought, and nowadays very few writers have time for thinking. It was therefore doubly pleasant this summer to find many of the excellencies of the graceful art applied in Franz Schoenberner's autobiography. Here, with a witty and cultivated partner one is beguiled once more by the patterns set by George Moore and Giraldus Cambrensis. The story rambles, but like a running arabesque it rambles straight ahead.

Mr. Schoenberner was once the editor of the famous German politico-satirical weekly, *Simplicissimus;* upon the advent of Hitler he resigned this position to become, with his wife, an exile, to join what he thought would be an army of honorable German gentlemen who would reject the house-painter's debasement of their culture. But he found himself almost alone, stranded on a wasteland, while his colleagues cavorted in the wave of the future. The tale is urbanely told. But it cannot conceal the sadness of a couple no longer young, who had worked hard for success and won it, and then were compelled by their own decency to wander the ramshackle corridors of the refugee. Not even the final miracle, the happy ending that brought them to a new life in the United States, is half so remarkable as the moral steadfastness that saw them through. This book is an affirmation of the indestructibility of spirit of the men of good will.

It is a continuation of the author's *Confessions of a European Intellectual.* The word "intellectual" which is so carelessly applied to people in Hollywood and Greenwich Village, literary agents, Congressmen and book reviewers, really applies to Mr. Schoenberner. He thinks, meditates, reads between. The sum of his knowledge is much more than facts learned, and similarly the reader's gain is much larger than the sentences read.

Betty Stones

Lead, Kindly Light

by Vincent Sheean. New York, Random House, $3.75.

The basic suggestion put forth in this book, by one of America's most thoughtful and conscientious journalists, is that Westerners who find cause to question their own religions might well turn to the wisdom of Hinduism for renewal and inspiration. In the spiritual thought of India the man of reason will find no betrayal, Mr. Sheean declares, but rather a revitalizing of his faith. For Hinduism, partly by reason of its great age, partly its characteristic integration of many forms of intellectual inquiry, delineates truths which other scriptures appear to leave in vague outline.

If there is any quarrel with the text of this book it is with Mr. Sheean's intensely individualistic approach. When he went to India in 1947, he was he relates, "at the end of his tether in the West." Concerning the United Nations he was "soaked in the cold shower of disillusionment." He was deeply discouraged by the West's overemphasis on materialism.

For some time he had found his thoughts turning toward Gandhi. While still at home in Vermont, he had premonitions of the Mahatma's death. Anxiously, fearing to be too late, he went to Calcutta and sought interviews with Gandhi. In their two conversations he became deeply aware of the profound influence the saint's personality was exerting upon his soul.

On the day set for his third interview, he stood waiting beside a wall in the garden of Birla House. Gandhi came across the grass to hold his daily prayer meeting. A throng of people gathered and surrounded him. Suddenly there were shots. Mr.

Sheean recalls the great tumult of his mind, the mingling in him of horror and physical helplessness, transmuted slowly into a stinging pain in the fingers of his right hand, as if he had been burned. The next few days were spent in despair.

It is easy to scoff at someone else's spiritual experience. This book is bound to be a very widely read exposition of Hinduism.

As for its quarrel with our materialistic civilization where science and technology have been deified, Mr. Sheean must not forget that it has rid us of cholera, and freed us from fear of the bubonic plague. It has given to the peoples in the West living standards and educational and cultural opportunities that cannot be cavalierly dismissed.

As for the United Nations, it has not wobbled for so long a time as the British Parliament, and so need not be given up as a bad job just yet.

Hindu philosophy too often has been represented as an elaborate escape mechanism whereas in reality it is one of the great fountain heads of human wisdom. Unfortunately Mr. Sheean, in seeking to prove the latter, has endorsed the former.

Betty Stones

The Sure Thing

by Merle Miller. New York, William Sloane Associates, $3.00.

THE story of the hunter and the hunted with the dragnet slowly closing takes a new twist here. Merle Miller's novel has all the suspense of the thriller, with one difference: the quarry is an ordinary citizen, the pursuer is the United States Government.

Mr. Miller was in Washington on that fateful day when Congress gave the government agencies the right to dismiss personnel "in the interest of the United States." Newspaper headlines have provided subsequent details of a comedy in which raucous, self-seeking, political puppets who never have had a thought except for their own advancement, have been allowed to attack and ruin men whose consistent efforts have been for the common good. This novel demonstrates how such hysterical irresponsibility affects one man's life.

Brad Douglas was a painstaking government official. He had a wife he loved, and a child by a former marriage whom he missed. He had a past, in the days before World War II, when he was just an ordinary New York intellectual, firm against Hitler, rooting for loyalist Spain, investigating the "Russian experiment," searching for an anchor for his convictions.

Much later, he obtained a government post, and was happy in his work. One day he noticed a man following him; the next day was black with headlines, the lies, the half-lies, and the truths which somehow looked grimier than truth should look. His wife was terrorized and all but lost, his boy's life shadowed.

Written in graphic style the story depicts the harsh dilemma of a people believing in civil liberties, yet resolved in a mood of desperation to defend themselves against the terror of totalitarianism.

Betty Stones

Out of Exile

by Soetan Sjahrir. New York, The John Day Company. $3.00.

This is the story of a man who was failed by the West. Yet his book breathes a spirit of conciliation for the Netherlands, despite the rigorous confinement to which the author was subjected by the Dutch while he wrote the letters which form the basis of the major portion of this work.

Sjahrir was only 25 when he was arrested in 1934, fresh from university studies in Holland. His "crime" was without specification, other than a general charge of "spreading hate and endangering public tranquility and order." He was held a prisoner for eight long formative years, much of the time in exile in Melanesia. Actually, he was guilty only of participation in a campaign to extend educational facilities. Nevertheless, even his long detention did not instill in him any "hate."

On the contrary, he voices only a deep respect for western culture and a complete acceptance of its more progressive social, political and psychological concepts. He continues to express the faith that there come "a gradual change in the direction of colonial policy," and that this will make possible fruitful collaboration which he believes is indispensable to both parties. This spirit of conciliation does not stem, of course, from any tolerance for the mutually degrading system of colonial exploitation.

This is a catholic book. The vast variety of its comments ranges from biting appraisal of Bergsonism to Sjahrir's reactions to simple Indonesian dishes. He points out that race distinction is far sharper in the colony than in the Dutch homeland. He exposes the fallacious concept of freedom as an abstract individual right and shows that it can exist only as a social right, limited, but protected, by the co-relative privileges of our fellow men.

In the same vein, he analyzes the limitations of psychological study as long as it concentrates on the solution of individual problems only. He reflects upon the need of a sense of beauty in life, even for a revolutionary.

Because of his past record, some of his countrymen consider Sjahrir still too conciliatory, and he is now not an official participant in the political activity he formerly dominated.

The forces of the Asian revolution cannot be stemmed. They will find other outlets through such men as Sjahrir or through native or foreign totalitarians. The beliefs of the latter will have little in common with the philosophy of this seminal intellect who is now in a second, if figurative, exile.

Robert Delson

Notice to Readers

Production difficulties made it impossible to present in this issue the second installment of Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias' important article on "The A-Bomb Was Not Needed."

No question of direct or indirect censorship was involved.

The Editors

New Writing in Turkey

By DEREK PATMORE

WESTERN readers are usually surprised to hear that the Turkish Republic has a remarkable school of modern writers and poets.

Today, there is a definite school of modern Turkish poetry, the direct result of the Kemalist Revolution, for Kemal Ataturk, by his sweeping reforms, brought the Turkish intellectuals into close touch with the best of modern Western poetry and literature. By reforming the Turkish language and by founding the Turkish Language Association in 1928, he introduced measures which purged Turkish of the many Arabic and Persian words which had crept into the language and gave the poets a new literary medium.

As in most contemporary writing, the work of the modern Turkish poets is extremely varied. Of the older generation, Yahya Kemal (born in 1885) is acknowledged to be the most distinguished. In spirit he belongs to the old Turkey, in style to the new. Influenced by the French Parnassian school, he remains Eastern in inspiration. His most famous poems, "On the Sultan's Garden" and "Hafiz's Tomb," show him to be a fine lyric poet, but one who is in love with the past. Among the older poets, especially in the work of Necip Fazil Kısakürek, a strong mystical tendency can be seen.

On the other hand, Nazim Hikmet, the most remarkable of the younger poets, sings of the glories of the machine age. His best-known volumes of verse are *835 Satir* (835 Lines), *Varan* and *The Town which has Lost its Voice*. An ardent Communist, Hikmet has been in prison for many years, but his literary influence has gone out to the younger generation of poets. Hasan Dinamo, perhaps the most promising, reflects Hikmet and Walt Whitman in his work. As with so many of the younger generation, he is obsessed with the political problems that are now facing the world.

At present it is a little difficult to assess modern Turkish poetry at its true value, because it is still in a formative stage, but the poets mentioned above have already proved that Modern Turkey has produced a school of poetry worthy of study by the rest of the world.

The most famous Turkish prose writer is Halide Edib, who writes in English and whose novels and books of memoirs are well known abroad. Halide Edib, now a striking looking woman with greying hair, spent many years traveling abroad and has lived in England and the United States. Her best-known novel is *The Clown and His Daughter* (published in England and the US before the war), but her most remarkable works are her volumes of *Memoirs* in which she describes the part she played in the Kemalist Revolution.

Yakub Kadri is another outstanding Turkish novelist-diplomat who is well known on the Continent but unknown elsewhere. Kadri was born in 1888 and has a long list of novels to his credit. His most famous are *Yaban* (The Stranger), a bitter study of life in Anatolia, and *Sodom ve Gomore* (Sodom and Gomorra) which deals with the Allied occupation of Istanbul after World War I.

Turkish writers have long possessed a special talent for the short story —indeed the story-teller has a long tradition behind him in this part of the world—so it is not surprising that there are several gifted short story writers in modern Turkey. Refik Halid is the best of these, and his short stories are worthy to be placed beside the best produced by other countries. This writer first won fame with his book *Memleket Hikayeleri* (Tales of the Country), a collection of short stories dealing with various facets of Turkish life; now he is a best-selling author.

The short story attracts many of the younger writers, too, but few have attained the excellence of Refik Halid. Many young Turks, having had a Western education, are now too easily influenced by the modern writers of the West. Assailed by such different literary currents as Surrealism and modern American, Russian, French and English styles, some of the younger intellectuals are still a little confused in their writings. Today, Ankara and Istanbul are full of young writers trying to be like T. S. Eliot, Ernest Hemingway, or Jean-Paul Sartre, and it is only when they turn to their own native scene that they produce writing of interest to other countries.

It is little known that President Ismet Inönu takes a personal interest in all branches of contemporary Turkish art and literature, and due to his influence the Turkish State has done much to help and subsidize the artist and writer. Today, there are yearly prizes for the best novel, the best short story, and the best musical composition. Moreover, as education spreads there is an increase in the sales of Turkish books, and this provides encouragement for the would-be writer and poet.

The Turkish reading public has a special affection for the essayist, and several modern Turkish writers have excelled in this style of writing. Perhaps the most famous Turkish book of essays is Falih Rifki Atay's *The Borders of the Thames*, in which this eminent journalist and writer describes his impressions of England. Atay has been a frequent visitor to England, and his essays on English life are subtle, penetrating and gracefully written. Another fine essayist is Rusen Esref, at present Turkish Ambassador to Greece.

Turkey today is very conscious of being a member of the United Nations, and the Turkish intellectuals are eager to be judged by Western standards rather than to be admired merely because they sound exotic.

The more we love our country, the more world minded we must become . . .

Internationalism *is* Patriotism

By EDOUARD BONNEFOUS

Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly

CERTAIN sophists contend that the ideals of Patriotism and National Sovereignty are Siamese Twins and that it would be impossible to separate the one from the other.

According to this view, the good citizen is provincial and narrow-minded. He refuses to accept the reality of international life today and wants to concern himself only with his own nation. This doctrine, practiced in Germany with such devout obstinacy, led to economic chaos and war.

Though events themselves would seem to have proven the final fallacy of this outlook, one may ask: Could it not be defended on purely theoretical and juridical grounds?

Emphatically not. There is no conflict between patriotism and international co-operation. We could even add that authentic patriotism recognizes its limitations and remains within the boundaries of reason and natural right. For if it doesn't do this, patriotism becomes akin to a spirit of conquest, to a lust for domination and to the worship of force.

There is no fundamental opposition between the concept of patriotism and that of a universal state.

Man first became attached to his immediate family—then to his clan, to his tribe, to his community, to his race and finally to the totality of beings and things that contributed to the formation of his nation. But man fully realizes that any such evolution cannot artificially be confined to the changing frontiers of states. One more step must be taken to attain universality.

Jurists have recognized at all times that, above human laws, there are certain principles readily accepted by mankind—unwritten but everpresent principles. They form an inalienable common fund. As long as patriotism respects these principles, draws inspiration from them and, if need be, defends them, then patriotism in itself commands respect. But when patriotism unleashes its hatred and its passions and violates the natural and eternal rights of man, it demands censure.

When a nation unjustly attacked summons its citizens to its defense, patriotism requires everyone to respond. But when populations are under the steel whip of terror in the name of fanatic nationalism, no excuse, no justification, is permissible. It then becomes the highest patriotism to resist any call to arms.

Nazi Germany, which instigated concentration and deportation camps and exterminated innocent millions, was the symbol of that narrow chauvinism which is the antithesis of patriotism.

These last years we have lived through are the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind.

In 1789, the French Revolution heralded the appearance of a new world. Shattering the rigid framework of feudalism, the Revolution fashioned a pattern of life based on the individual, an attitude which has dominated for a century and a half the social and economic system of the Western world. The Revolution caused the re-awakening of nationalisms as a struggle against despotism, in many countries outside of France.

The last conflict has again hastened the development of nationalisms at the same time it has made nations more aware of their mutual dependence. Economic and cultural ties between states have multiplied. The creation of international organisms, such as the United Nations, has produced a new approach toward international life.

The sovereign state will not disappear. It will remain the principal subject of international law, but no longer will it be its only subject. This transformation must be achieved without too much discord. Wholesome patriotism, love for the national community, are in no way opposed to the establishment of a society of nations where, on a level of juridical equality, each participant will deal with universal interests.

International sovereignty must triumph over national sovereignty. We must adapt ourselves in time to this transformation, lest we see mankind regularly engaged in futile and deadly struggles which would only bring misery, dictatorship, and barbarism.

An Editorial: BY LOUIS DOLIVET

The International Century

NOW that the Atlantic Pact has been ratified, the cycle of international organization has been virtually completed.

The result of this latest move to adjust the balance of West-East forces is that the stability of the world is further increased and the danger of war lessened. Despite all the chauvinist declarations of various governments, despite all the talking and writing about the growth of nationalism around the globe, the Atlantic Pact is another proof that the twentieth century is destined to become the International Century of history.

At no other time has there been such a development of international organizations as during the past three years. Today, every corner of the world is part of a vast international network. With the exception of Franco Spain*—which is excluded from the United Nations and from other international bodies because of fascist characteristics—every country on earth belongs to some kind of international agency, or regional defense alignment or to a medium for economic recovery and co-operation. Even Germany and Japan, with whom peace treaties have not yet been signed, are indirectly cogs and gears in the international defense machinery.

Practically all of our planet's 2,300,000,000 inhabitants are covered by international organizations of one type or another. These influence to a considerable extent not only world trade trends but also the internal economies of many countries, including those of the under-developed areas. They consume an average of more than 25 per cent of the discussion and debating time in all the parliaments of the world.

They mould, in ever-greater degree, political fluctuations within various countries. They add to, or detract from, feelings of personal security; enlarge or reduce armaments appropriations and impinge increasingly upon the day-by-day life of the average citizen.

Never before have so many leaders of governments ambassadors and ministers, technical advisers, experts and scientists attended so many international conferences.

A whole map of the earth could be made up of existing international organizations and their many ramifications. There is, first of all, the United Nations with its 59 member states—not counting the 14 new applicants—and its 11 specialized agencies: the International Labor Organization; Food and Agriculture Organization; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; International Civil Aviation Organization; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; International Monetary Fund; World Health Organization; International Refugee Organization; International Trade Organization; Universal Postal Union; and the International Telecommunications Union.

Some of these, such as the International Telecommunications Union, include every country of the world.

Besides the UN, there are regional structures such as the Organization of American States, the Western Union, the Council of Europe, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the South Seas Commission, the European Recovery Program nations (Marshall Plan), the Atlantic Pact countries, the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (known as the Molotov Plan) and the Pacific Union.

In addition to these international organizations, where governments are main partners and participants, there are more than a thousand non-governmental international associations ranging from the International Chamber of Commerce to international religious societies and woman's, youth and educational groups. They have some 350 million members. Eighty-three of them enjoy consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the UN, and can thus bring their views directly before this even more important agency. Some 400 other private organizations are accredited to the Information Department of the UN.

Leaders in all of these organizations, whether official or non-official, increasingly perceive that modern man everywhere wants full international cooperation on the basis of equality, with no country—however powerful—exercising supremacy.

The moral and political leadership of the organizations, identified with the UN, is of course determined to a certain extent by the economic, military and political might of the nation which a given delegate represents. But the character of proposals and programs offered to the rest of the world, and the personal qualities of the delegate, are becoming more and more decisive.

None of these international organizations can succeed in their primary objectives without the confidence and cooperation of others of like kind and spirit throughout the world. Slowly, inevitably, the certitude emerges that this century will not be either American or Soviet, as fanatic protagonists on each side often proclaim, but rather the International Century.

* However, even Franco Spain, although not a member of the UN, could appeal to the Security Council in case of external aggression.